











Isaac Massey

Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> 1878

Alice E. Starnes  
159 South Pine Street  
York, Pennsylvania



# “PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH,”

AND

## OTHER ESSAYS.

---

*SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.*

---

PHILADELPHIA:  
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

1874.

---

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1873, by

J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

---

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

---


THE leading article in this collection was written about four years ago, and appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1869.

In publishing it now, I make a few alterations and add notes.

After this was written, I became better acquainted with our plain German sects, and wrote the other essays that describe them, and which are graver, and more strictly historical, than the first.

APRIL, 1872.





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2024

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

---

Two essays have been added to the former collection: namely, "Bethlehem and the Moravians," and "Schwenkfelders."

To the article "Swiss Exiles" has been added a notice of the Russian Mennonites; and a few further remarks upon the same subject will be found in Note III. of the supplement.

The first supplementary note speaks of the Pennsylvania German dialect, and the second contains promiscuous anecdotes of some of our Pennsylvania people. It is probable that the name "Dutch" for German will in time be discarded.

P. E. GIBBONS.

DECEMBER, 1873.



# CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE
"PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH" (PROPERLY GERMAN) . . . . .	9
Language . . . . .	9
Religion . . . . .	11
History of a Sect . . . . .	19
Politics . . . . .	22
Festivals . . . . .	24
Weddings . . . . .	27
Quiltings . . . . .	34
"Singings" . . . . .	37
Farming . . . . .	38
Farmers' Wives . . . . .	42
Holidays . . . . .	53
Public Schools . . . . .	57
Manners and Customs . . . . .	60
AN AMISH MEETING . . . . .	66
SWISS EXILES . . . . .	79
THE DUNKER LOVE-FEAST . . . . .	123
EPHRATA . . . . .	153

	PAGE
BETHLEHEM AND THE MORAVIANS . . . . .	193
Festivals . . . . .	197
The Graveyard . . . . .	205
Old Recollections . . . . .	208
Old Buildings . . . . .	221
Miscellaneous Remarks . . . . .	224
SCHWENKFELDERS . . . . .	231
Meeting-House and Graveyard . . . . .	232
Books . . . . .	235
History . . . . .	239
The Journey to America . . . . .	253
The Anniversary or Yearly Meeting . . . . .	255
Customs . . . . .	261
Doctrines . . . . .	265
A FRIEND . . . . .	271
COUSIN JEMIMA . . . . .	291

## NOTES.

NOTE I. . . . .	301
NOTE II. . . . .	309
NOTE III. . . . .	317



# “PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.”

(PROPERLY GERMAN.)

---

I HAVE lived for twenty years in the county of Lancaster, where my neighbors on all sides are “Pennsylvania Dutch.” In this article, I shall try to give, from my own observation and familiar acquaintance, some account of the life of a people who are almost unknown outside of the rural neighborhoods of their own State, who have much that is peculiar in their language, customs, and belief, and whom I have learned heartily to esteem for their native good sense, friendly feeling, and religious character.

## LANGUAGE.

The tongue which these people speak is a dialect of the German, but they generally call it and themselves “Dutch.”

For the native German who works with them

on the farm they entertain some contempt, and the title "Yankee" is with them a synonym for cheat.\* As must always be the case where the great majority do not read the tongue which they speak, and live in contact with those who speak another, the language has become mixed and corrupt. Seeing a young neighbor cleaning a buggy, I tried to talk with him by speaking German. "Willst du reiten?" said I (not remembering that *reiten* is to ride on horseback). "Willst du reiten?" All my efforts were vain.

As I was going for cider to the house of a neighboring farmer, I asked his daughter what she would say, under the circumstances, for "Are you going to ride?" "Widdu fawray? Buggy fawray?" was the answer. (Willst du fahren?) Such expressions are heard as "Kooock amul to," for "Guck einmal da," or "Just look at that!" and "Halt'ybissel" for "Halt ein biszchen," or "Wait a little bit." "Gutenobit" is used for "Guten Abend." Apple-butter is "lodwaerrick," from the German "latwerge,"

---

\* An acquaintance explains the prejudice against Yankees, by telling how, some forty to sixty years ago, the tin-peddlers traveled among the innocent Dutch people, cheating the farmers and troubling the daughters. They were (says he) tricky, smart, and good-looking. They could tell a good yarn, and were, very amusing, and the goodly hospitable farmers would take them into their houses and entertain them, and receive a little tin-ware in payment.

an electuary, or an electuary of prunes. Our "Dutch" is much mixed with English. I once asked a woman what pie-crust is in Dutch. "Py-kroosht," she answered.

Those who speak English use uncommon expressions, as,—“That’s a werry *lasty* basket” (meaning durable); “I seen him yet a’ready;” “I knew a woman that had a good baby *wunst*;” “The bread is all” (all gone). I have heard the carpenter call his plane *she*, and a housekeeper apply the same pronoun to her home-made soap.

A rich landed proprietor is sometimes called *king*. An old “Dutchman” who was absent from home thus narrated the cause of his journey: “I must go and see old Yoke (Jacob) Beidelman. Te people calls me te kink ov te manor (township), and tay calls him te kink ov te Octorara. Now, dese kinks must come togeder once.” (Accent *together*, and pass quickly over *once*.)\*

## RELIGION.

I called recently on my friend and neighbor, Jacob S., who is a thrifty farmer, of a good mind, and a member of the old Mennist† or Mennonite Society. I once accompanied him and his pleasant wife to their religious meeting. The meet-

---

\* See note on Language at the close of the volume.

† Pronounced “Menneest.”

ing-house is a low brick building, with neat surroundings, and resembles a Friends' meeting-house. The Mennonists in some outward matters very much resemble the Society of Friends (or Quakers), but do not rely, in the especial manner that Friends do, upon the teachings of the Divine Spirit in the secret stillness of the soul.

In the interior of the Mennist meeting a Quaker-like plainness prevails. The men, with broad-brimmed hats and simple dress, sit on benches on one side of the house, and the women, in plain caps and black sun-bonnets, are ranged on the other; while a few gay dresses are worn by the young people who have not yet joined the meeting. The services are almost always conducted in "Dutch," and consist of exhortation and prayer, and singing by the congregation. The singing is without previous training, and is not musical. A pause of about five minutes is allowed for private prayer.

The preachers are not paid, and are chosen in the following manner. When a vacancy occurs, and a new appointment is required, several men go into a small room, appointed for the purpose; and to them, waiting, enter singly the men and women, as many as choose, who tell them the name of the person preferred by each to fill the vacancy. After this, an opportunity is given to any candidate to excuse himself from the service. Those who are not excused, if, for

instance, six in number, are brought before six books. Each candidate takes up a book, and the one within whose book a lot is found is the chosen minister. I asked my friends who gave me some of these details, whether it was claimed or believed that there is any special guidance of the Divine Spirit in thus choosing a minister. From the reply, I did not learn that any such guidance is claimed, though they spoke of a man who *was led* to pass his hand over all the other books, and who selected the last one, but he did not get the lot after all. He was thought to be ambitious of a place in the ministry.

The three prominent sects of Mennonites all claim to be non-resistants, or *wehrlos*. The *Old Mennists*, who are the most numerous and least rigid, vote at elections, and are allowed to hold such public offices as school director and road supervisor, but not to be members of the legislature. The ministers are expected not to vote.\* The members of this society cannot bring suit against any one; they can hold mortgages, but not judgment bonds.† Like Quakers, they were not allowed to hold slaves, and they do not take oaths nor deal in spirituous liquors.

My neighbor Jacob and I were once talking of

---

\* An acquaintance, who lives in Bucks County, tells me that his father, a Mennonite preacher, voted "pretty much always."

† The rule against judgment bonds may not be universal



the general use of the word "Yankee" to denote one who is rather unfair in his dealings. They sometimes speak of a "Dutch Yankee;" and Jacob asked me whether, if going to sell a horse, I should tell the buyer every fault that I knew the horse had, as he maintained was the proper course. His brother-in-law, who was at times a horse-dealer, did not agree with him.

Titles do not abound among these plain neighbors of ours. Jacob's little son used to call him "Jake," as he heard the hired men do. Nevertheless, one of our New Mennist acquaintances was quite courtly in his address. This last-mentioned sect branched off some forty years ago, and claim to be *reformirt*, or to have returned to an older and more excellent standard. They do not vote at all. Their most striking peculiarity is this: if one of the members is disowned by the church, the other members of his own family who are members of the meeting are not allowed to eat at the same table with him, and his wife withdraws from him. A woman who worked in such a family told me how unpleasant it was to her to see that the father did not take his seat at the table, to which she was invited.

In support of this practice, they refer to the eleventh verse of the fifth chapter of First Corinthians: "But now I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idola-

ter, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner ; with such an one *no not to eat.*"

We have yet another sect among us, called Amish (pronounced Ommish). In former times these Mennists were sometimes known as "beardy men," but of late years the beard is not a distinguishing trait. It is said that a person once asked an Amish man the difference between themselves and another Mennist sect. "Vy, dey vears put-tons, and ve veارش hooks oont eyes ;" and this is, in fact, a prime difference. All the Mennist sects retain the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, but most also practice feet-washing, and some sectarians "greet one another with a holy kiss."

On a Sunday morning Amish wagons, covered with yellow oil-cloth, may be seen moving toward the house of that member whose turn it is to have the meeting. Great have been the preparations there beforehand,—the whitewashing, the scrubbing, the polishing of tin and brass. Wooden benches and other seats are provided for the "meeting-folks," and the services resemble those already described. Of course, young mothers do not stay at home, but bring their infants with them. When the meeting is over, the congregation remain to dinner. Bean soup was formerly the principal dish, but, with the progress of luxury, the farmers of a fat soil no longer confine themselves to so simple a diet. Imagine what a

time of social intercourse this must be. The Amish dress is peculiar; and the children are diminutive men and women. The women wear sun-bonnets and closely-fitting dresses, but often their figures look very trim, in brown, with green or other bright handkerchiefs meeting over the breast.

I saw a group of Amish at the railroad station the other day,—men, women, and a little boy. One of the young women wore a pasteboard sun-bonnet covered with black, and tied with narrow blue ribbon, among which showed the thick white strings of her Amish cap; a gray shawl, without fringe; a brown stuff dress, and a purple apron. One middle-aged man, inclined to corpulence, had coarse, brown, woolen clothes, and his pantaloons, without suspenders (in the Amish fashion), were unwilling to meet his waistcoat, and showed one or two inches of white shirt. No buttons were on his coat behind, but down the front were hooks and eyes. One young girl wore a bright-brown sun-bonnet, a green dress, and a light blue apron. The choicest figure, however, was the six-year-old, in a jacket, and with pantaloons plentifully plaited into the waistband behind; hair cut straight over the forehead, and hanging to the shoulder; and a round-crowned black wool hat, with an astonishingly wide brim. The little girls, down to two years old, wear the plain cap, and the handkerchief crossed upon the breast.

In Amish houses the love of ornament appears in brightly scoured utensils,—how the brass ladles are made to shine!—and in embroidered towels, one end of the towel showing a quantity of work in colored cottons. When steel or elliptic springs were introduced, so great a novelty was not at first patronized by members of the meeting; but an infirm brother, desiring to visit his friends, directed the blacksmith to put a spring inside his wagon, under the seat, and since that time steel springs have become common. I have even seen a youth with flowing hair (as is common among the Amish), and two trim-bodied damsels, riding in a very plain, uncovered buggy. A. Z. rode in a common buggy; but he became a great backslider, poor man!

It was an Amish man, not well versed in the English language, from whom I bought poultry, who sent me a bill for “chighans.”

In mentioning some ludicrous circumstances, far be it from me to ignore the virtues of these primitive people.

Since the first edition of this book was published, I have obtained further information concerning the Amish, from a young woman who has lived among them. I call her Mary K.

Mary thought that it would be nice for me to have cut paper around my mantel, such as Fanny R., an Amish woman, had,—newspaper cut in the form of birds, flowers, etc. She had cut paper

round her clock-shelf too, and evergreen branches stuck above.

Barbara —, when the meeting was to be at her house, put up "blotting-paper" of different colors, cut in the same way, and arranged in this or a similar style, green at the ends, red next, and yellow in the middle.

"Would any one know they were birds and flowers," said I, "if they were not told?"

"Yes," said Mary; "they'd see them."

Besides this, on the high kitchen mantel, Fanny K. had platters, sugar-bowls, glass cream-jugs, spoon-vases, and preserve-dishes for show; up-stairs, she had two bureaus and a mantel-piece, with things on them, which she had when she was a little girl, china cups and saucers, pin-cushions, etc.

Mary mentioned that on one occasion John R., a farmer, was sitting at the table with several young men who had lately joined the meeting, having been baptized. One of these was Yoney, or Jonathan K., his hired man. Said the old man to the last mentioned, "Was hasht du verschproke in der Gemeh?" or, "What did you promise in meeting?" The young man looked inquiringly at his clothes, and the old man pointed out the suspenders.

Yoney replied that he was allowed to wear the clothes that he had until they were worn out.

"These look like new ones."



“They were my best ones, and I have just begun wearing them for every day.”

Mary says that the Amish are obliged to give to beggars or “stragglers,” or they would be turned out of meeting. She does not know that they are obliged to give to those who are able to work, but did not believe that she ever saw them turn any away.

One day when she and Fanny R., with whom she lived, were very busy getting dinner for the men, two girls came and wanted something to eat. One was colored, the other white, and one or both from the Welsh Mountain. They were part of a fishing-party down the creek. Fanny said, “You know, Mary, we’re not busy, and haven’t the men to wait on. You’ll have to stop, and get them a piece.”

Mary said to the visitors, “You’re able to work; why don’t you earn your living, as I do?” Nevertheless, she went and got them some simple refreshment.

#### HISTORY OF A SECT.

The Mennonites are named from Simon Menno, a reformer, who died in 1561, though it is doubtful whether Menno founded the sect. “The prevailing opinion among church historians, especially those of Holland, is that the origin of the Dutch Baptists may be traced to

the Waldenses, and that Menno merely organized the concealed and scattered congregations as a denomination."\*

Mosheim says, "The true origin of that sect, which acquired the denomination of Anabaptists, by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of Mennonites from the famous man to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is hidden in the depths of antiquity, and is of consequence extremely difficult to be ascertained." The "Martyr-Book," or "Martyr's Mirror," in use among our Mennonites, endeavors to prove identity of doctrine between the Waldenses and these Baptists, as regards opposition to infant baptism, to war, and to oaths.

Although the Mennonites are very numerous in the county of Lancaster, yet in the whole State they were estimated, in 1850, to have but ninety-two churches, while the Lutherans and German Reformed together were estimated as having seven hundred.

The freedom of religious opinion which was allowed in Pennsylvania had the effect of drawing hither the continental Europeans, who established themselves in the fertile lands of the western part of the county of Chester, now

---

\* See Appletons' American Cyclopædia.

Lancaster. It was not until the revolution of 1848 that the different German states granted full civil rights to the Mennonites; and in some cases this freedom has since been withdrawn; Hanover, in 1858, annulled the election of a representative to the second chamber, because he was a Mennonite. Much of this opposition probably is because the sect refuse to take oaths. With such opposing circumstances in the Old World, it is not remarkable that the number of Mennonites in the United States is reported to exceed that in all the rest of the world put together.\* The Amish are named from Jacob Amen, a Swiss Mennonite preacher of the seventeenth century.

As I understand the Mennonites, they endeavor in church government literally to carry out the injunction of Jesus, "Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church; but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

---

\* For notice of Russian Mennonites, see p. 117, etc.

Besides these sectaries, we have among us Dunkers\* (German *tunken*, to dip), from whom sprang the Seventh-Day Baptists of Ephratah, with their brother- and sister-houses of celibates.

Also at Litiz we have the Moravian church and Gottesacker (or churchyard), and a Moravian church at Lancaster. Here, according to custom, a love-feast was held recently, when a cup of coffee and a rusk (sweet biscuit) were handed to each person present.†

#### POLITICS.

As our county was represented in Congress by Thaddeus Stevens, you have some idea of what our politics are. We have returned about five or six thousand majority for the Whig, Anti-Masonic, and Republican ticket, and the adjoining *very* "Dutch" county of Berks invariably as

---

\* The article in this volume called "The Dunker Love-Feast" gives a more particular account of the people thus called.

† See "Bethlehem and the Moravians."

We have a number of "Dutch Methodists," or "Albrechtsleute" (Albrecht's people), to whom is given the name "Evangelical Association."

A young Lutheran minister has estimated that there are over thirty religious divisions in this county, but some of them are very small.

Rupp, who gives about twenty-two divisions (1844), says that there is no spot upon earth, with so limited a population and the same confined territory, that counts more denominations than Lancaster County.

great a majority for the Democratic. So striking a difference has furnished much ground for speculation. The Hon. Mr. S. says that Berks is Democratic because so many Hessians settled there after the Revolution. "No," says the Hon. Mr. B., "I attribute it to the fact that the people are not taught by unpaid ministers, as with us, but are Lutherans and German Reformed, and can be led by their preachers." "Why is Berks Democratic?" I asked our Democratic postmaster. "I do not know," said he; "but the people here are ignorant; they do not read a paper on the other side." A former postmaster tells me that he has heard that the people of Berks were greatly in favor of liberty in the time of the elder Adams; that they put up liberty-poles, and Adams sent soldiers among them and had the liberty-poles cut down; and "ever since they have been opposed to that political party, under its different names."\*

---

\* Since the above was written, a gentleman of Reading has told me that he heard James Buchanan express, in the latter part of his life, a similar opinion to the one given above. Mr. Buchanan said, in effect, that while peace sects prevailed in Lancaster County, in Berks were found many Lutherans and German Reformed, who were more liberal (according, of course, to Mr. Buchanan's interpretation of the word).

The Hon. Mr. S. cited above is John Strohm. The troubles alluded to in Berks seem to have been principally on account of a direct tax, called "the house-tax," imposed during the administration of John Adams.

The people of Berks and Lancaster have recently given another striking proof of the difference of their political sentiments.

On the question of holding the late Constitutional Convention, the vote of Berks was, 5269 for a convention, and 10,905 against a convention; the vote of Lancaster was, for a convention 16,862, against the same 116.

A gentleman of Easton, Northampton County, tells me of a German farmer, who lived near that town, who said he did not see any need of so many parties,—the Democrats and Lutherans were enough. On his death-bed he is reported to have said to his son, "I never voted anything but the Democratic ticket, and I want you to stick to the party."

#### FESTIVALS.

The greatest festive occasion, or the one which calls the greatest number of persons to eat and drink together, is the funeral.

My friends Jacob and Susanna E. have that active benevolence and correct principle which prompt to a care for the sick and dying, and kind offices toward the mourner. Nor are they alone in this. When a death occurs, our "Dutch" neighbors enter the house, and, taking possession, relieve the family as far as possible from the labors and cares of a funeral. Some "redd

up" the house, making that which was neglected during the sad presence of a fatal disease again in order for the reception of company. Others visit the kitchen, and help to bake great store of bread, pies, and rusks for the expected gathering. Two young men and two young women generally sit up together overnight to watch in a room adjoining that of the dead.

At funerals occurring on Sunday three hundred carriages have been seen in attendance; and so great at all times is the concourse of people of all stations and all shades of belief, and so many partake of the entertainment liberally provided, that I may be excused for calling funerals the great festivals of the "Dutch." (Weddings are also highly festive occasions, but they are confined to the "freundschaft," and to much smaller numbers.)

The services at funerals are generally conducted in the German language.

An invitation is extended to the persons present to return to eat after the funeral, or the meal is partaken of before leaving for the graveyard: hospitality, in all rural districts, where the guests come from afar, seems to require this. The tables are sometimes set in a barn, or large wagon-house, and relays of guests succeed one another, until all are done. The neighbors wait upon the table. The entertainment generally consists of meat, frequently cold; bread and

butter; pickles or sauces, such as apple-butter; pies and rusks; sometimes stewed chickens, mashed potatoes, cheese, etc.; and coffee invariably. All depart after the dish-washing, and the family is left in quiet again.

I have said that persons of all shades of belief attend funerals; but our New Mennists are not permitted to listen to the sermons of other denominations. Memorial stones over the dead are more conspicuous than among Friends; but they are still quite plain, with simple inscriptions. Occasionally family graveyards are seen. One on a farm adjoining ours seems cut out of the side of a field; it stands back from the high-road, and access to it is on foot. To those who are anxious to preserve the remains of their relatives, these graveyards are objectionable, as they will probably not be regarded after the property has passed into another family.

A Lutheran gentleman, living in Berks County, in speaking of the great funerals among the "Dutch," says, "Our Germans look forward all their lives to their funerals, hoping to be able to entertain their friends on that great occasion with the hospitality due to them, and the honor due to the memory of the departed." No spirituous liquors, he added, are *now* used at funerals, the clergy having discouraged their use on these religious occasions. In a mountain valley in Carbon County, some twenty years ago, a bottle



of whisky was handed to a Lutheran minister, and he was asked to take some. "Yes, I'll have some," he answered; and taking the bottle, he broke it against a tree.

## WEDDINGS.

Our farmer had a daughter married lately, and I was invited to see the bride leave home. The groom, in accordance with the early habits of the "Dutch" folks, reached the bride's house about six a.m., having previously breakfasted and ridden four miles. As he probably fed and harnessed his horse, besides attiring himself for the grand occasion, he must have been up betimes on an October morning.

The bride wore purple mousseline-de-laine and a blue bonnet. As some of the "wedding-folks" were dilatory, the bride and groom did not get off before seven. The bridegroom was a mechanic. The whole party was composed of four couples, who rode to Lancaster in buggies, where two pairs were married by a minister. In the afternoon, the newly-married couples went down to Philadelphia for a few days; and on the evening that they were expected at home, we had a reception, or home-coming. Supper consisted of roast turkeys, beef, and stewed chickens, cakes, pies, and coffee of course. We had raisin-pie, which is a great treat in "Dutchland" on

festive or solemn occasions. "Nine couples" of the party sat down to supper, and then the remaining spare seats were occupied by the landlord's wife, the bride's uncle, etc. We had a fiddler in the evening. He and the dancing would not have been there, had the household "belonged to meeting;" and, as it was, some young Methodist girls did not dance.

One of my "English" acquaintances was sitting alone on a Sunday evening, when she heard a rap at the door, and a young "Dutchman," a stranger, walked in and sat down, "and there he sot, and sot, and sot." Mrs. G. waited to hear his errand, politely making conversation; and finally he asked whether her daughter was at home. "Which one?" He did not know. But that did not make much difference, as neither was at home. Mrs. G. afterwards mentioned this circumstance to a worthy "Dutch" neighbor, expressing surprise that a young man should call who had not been introduced. "How then *would* they get acquainted?" said he. She suggested that she did not think that her daughter knew the young man. "She would not tell you, perhaps, if she did." The daughter, however, when asked, seemed entirely ignorant, and did not know that she had ever seen the young man. He had probably seen her at the railroad station, and had found out her name and residence. It would seem to indicate much confidence on the

part of parents, if, when acquaintances are formed in such a manner, the father and mother retire at nine o'clock, and leave their young daughter thus to "keep company," until midnight or later. It is no wonder that one of our German sects has declared against the popular manner of "courting."

I recently attended a New Mennist wedding, which took place in the frame meeting-house. We entered through an adjoining brick dwelling, one room of which served as an ante-room, where the "sisters" left their bonnets and shawls. I was late, for the services had begun about nine, on a bitter Sunday morning in December. The meeting-house was crowded, and in front on the left was a plain of book-muslin caps on the heads of the sisters.\* On shelves and pegs,

\* On the use of the cap, an Old Mennist paper quotes the following:

"Two cannot rule over the affairs of a family in peace under *all* circumstances. They can advise and give counsel, but one must take the absolute rule, and God has given it to the man, and has taught the woman to be in subjection to her husband. Hence she is to honor him as her head by a *visible token*, a covering on her own head. . . . The brotherhood have adopted a plain cap to constitute this covering; and by looking into history, we find that a cap has been worn in the case of marriages for a great many centuries,—until within the last thirty-five or forty years. A great many of our old friends remember when it was a universal practice."—*Vindicator*. See "Herald of Truth" (Old Mennonite), July, 1873.

In some of the German Baptist sects the unmarried females also wear caps.

along the other side, were placed the hats and overcoats of the brethren. The building was extremely simple,—whitewashed without, entirely unpainted within, with whitewashed walls. The preacher stood at a small, unpainted desk, and before it was a table, convenient for the old men "to sit at and lay their books on." Two stoves, a half-dozen hanging tin candlesticks, and the benches, completed the furniture. The preacher was speaking extemporaneously in English, for in this meeting-house the services are often performed in this tongue; and he spoke readily and well, though his speech was not free from such expressions as, "It would be wishful for men to do their duty;" "Man cannot separate them together;" and "This, Christ done for us."

He spoke at length upon divorce, which, he said, could not take place between Christians. The preacher spoke especially upon the duty of the wife to submit to the husband, whenever differences of sentiment arose; of the duty of the husband to love the wife, and to show his love by his readiness to assist her. He alluded to Paul's saying that it is better to be unmarried than married, and he did not scruple to use plain language touching adultery. His discourse ended, he called upon the pair proposing marriage to come forward; whereupon the man and woman rose from the body of the congregation

on either side, and, coming out to the middle aisle, stood together before the minister. They had both passed their early youth, but had very good faces. The bride wore a mode-colored alpaca, and a black apron ; also a clear-starched cap without a border, after the fashion of the sect. The groom wore a dark-green coat, cut “shad-bellied,” after the manner of the brethren.

This was probably the manner of their acquaintance : If, in spite of Paul’s encouragement to a single life, a brother sees a sister whom he wishes to marry, he mentions the fact to a minister, who tells it to the sister. If she agrees in sentiment, the acquaintance continues for a year, during which private interviews can be had, if desired ; but this sect entirely discourages courting as usually practiced among the “Dutch.”

The year having in this case elapsed, and the pair having now met before the preacher, he propounded to them three questions :

1. I ask of this brother, as the bridegroom, do you believe that this sister in the faith is allotted to you by God as your helpmeet and spouse ? And I ask of you, as the bride, do you believe that this your brother is allotted to you by God as your husband and head ?

2. Are you free in your affections from all others, and have you them centred alone upon this your brother or sister ?

3. Do you receive this person as your lawfully wedded husband [wife], do you promise to be faithful to him [her], to reverence him [to love her], and that nothing but death shall separate you; that, by the help of God, you will, to the best of your ability, fulfill all the duties which God has enjoined on believing husbands and wives?

In answering this last question, I observed the bride to lift her eyes to the preacher's face, as if in fearless trust. Then the preacher, directing them to join hands, pronounced them man and wife, and invoked a blessing upon them. This was followed by a short prayer, after which the wedded pair separated, each again taking a place among the congregation. The occasion was solemn. On resuming his place in the desk, the preacher's eyes were seen to be suffused, and pocket-handkerchiefs were visible on either side (the sisters' white, those of the brethren of colored silk). The audience then knelt, while the preacher prayed, and I heard responses like those of the Methodists, but more subdued. The preacher made a few remarks, to the effect that, although it would be grievous to break the bond now uniting these two, it would be infinitely more grievous to break the tie which unites us to Christ; and then a quaint hymn was sung to a familiar tune. This "church" does not allow wedding-parties, but a few friends may gather at the house after meeting.

Concerning Amish weddings, Mary K. tells me that the meeting is held at the house, as all their meetings are held in private houses. Mary has never attended an Amish wedding, but she understands that none go but invited guests, except that the preachers always go. After the ceremony, the wedded pair with the preacher or preachers retire into a private apartment. This is, I conjecture, for exhortation upon their duties.

One of my neighbors has told me that the Amish "have great fun at weddings;" that they have a table set all night, and that when the weather is pleasant they play in the barn. "Our Peter went once," she continued, "with a lot of the public-school scholars. They let them go in and look on. They twisted a towel for the bloom-sock, and they did hit each other." (Bloom-sock, *plump-sack*, a twisted kerchief,—a clumsy fellow.)

"The bloom-sock" (*oo* short), as one of my acquaintances describes it, "is a handkerchief twisted long, from the two opposite corners. When it is twisted, you double it, and tie the ends with a knot. One in front hunts the handkerchief, and those on the bench are passing it behind them. If they get a chance, they'll hit him with it, and if he sees it he tears it away. Then he goes into the row, and the other goes out to hunt it."



"The English folks have a game like that," said I. "We call it 'hunt the slipper.'"

It has also been said that at Amish wedding-parties they have what they call *Glücktrinke*, of wine, etc. Some wedding-parties are called "infares." Thus, a neighbor spoke of "Siegfried's wedding, where they had such an infare." (The original meaning of infare I infer to be *home-coming*.)

It must not be supposed from these descriptions that we have no "fashionable" persons among us, of the old German stock. When they have become fashionable, however, they do not desire to be called "Dutch."

#### QUILTINGS.

Some ten years ago there came to our neighborhood a pleasant, industrious "Aunt Sally," a "yellow woman;" and the other day she had a quilting, for she had long wished to re-cover two quilts. The first who arrived at Aunt Sally's was our neighbor from over the "creek," or mill-stream, Polly M., in her black silk Mennist bonnet, formed like a sun-bonnet; and at ten came my dear friend Susanna E., who is tall and fat, and very pleasant; who has Huguenot blood in her veins, and

"Whose heart has a look southward, and is open  
To the great noon of nature."



Aunt Sally had her quilt up in her landlord's east room, for her own house was too small. However, at about eleven she called us over to dinner; for people who have breakfasted at five or six have an appetite at eleven.

We found on the table beefsteaks, boiled pork, sweet potatoes, kohl-slaw,\* pickled tomatoes, cucumbers, and *red* beets (thus the "Dutch" accent lies), apple-butter and preserved peaches, pumpkin- and apple- pie, with sponge-cake and coffee.

After dinner came our next neighbors, "the maids," Susy and Katy Groff, who live in single blessedness and great neatness. They wore pretty, clear-starched Mennist caps, very plain. Katy is a sweet-looking woman; and, although she is more than sixty years old, her forehead is almost unwrinkled, and her fine fair hair is still brown. It was late when the farmer's wife came, —three o'clock; for she had been to Lancaster. She wore hoops, and was of the "world's people." These women all spoke "Dutch;" for "the maids," whose ancestor came here probably one hundred and fifty years ago, do not yet speak English with fluency.

The first subject of conversation was the fall

---

\* Kohl-slaw (*i.e.* kohl-salat or cabbage-salad?) is shredded cabbage, dressed with vinegar, etc. A rich dressing is sometimes made of milk or cream, egg, vinegar, etc. It may be eaten either as warm slaw or cold slaw.

house-cleaning; and I heard mention of "die carpet hinaus an der fence," and "die fenshter und die porch;" and the exclamation, "My goodness, es war schlimm." I quilted faster than Katy Groff, who showed me her hands, and said, "You have not been corn-husking, as I have."

So we quilted and rolled, talked and laughed, got one quilt done, and put in another. The work was not fine; we laid it out by chalking around a small plate. Aunt Sally's desire was rather to get her quilting finished upon this great occasion, than for us to put in a quantity of needlework.

About five o'clock we were called to supper. I need not tell you all the particulars of this plentiful meal. But the stewed chicken was tender, and we had coffee again.

Polly M.'s husband now came over the creek in the boat, to take her home, and he warned her against the evening dampness. The rest of us quilted awhile by candle and lamp, and got the second quilt done at about seven.

At this quilting I heard but little gossip, and less scandal. I displayed my new alpaca, and my dyed merino, and the Philadelphia bonnet which exposes the back of my head to the wintry blast. Polly, for her part, preferred her black silk sun-bonnet; and so we parted, with mutual invitations to visit.

"SINGINGS."

Mary K. tells me that she once attended a "singing" among the Amish. About nightfall, on a Sunday evening in summer, a half-dozen "girls," and a few more "boys," met at the house of one of the members. They talked awhile first, on common subjects, and then sang hymns from the Amish hymn-book, in the German tongue. They chanted in the slow manner common in their religious meetings; but Mary says that some are now learning to sing by note, and are improving their manner. They thus intoned until about ten o'clock, and then laid aside their hymn-books, and the old folks went to bed. Then the young people went out into the wash-house, or outside kitchen, so as not to wake the sleepers, and played, "Come, Philander, let's be marching," and

"The needle's eye we do supply  
With thread that runs so true;  
And many a lass have I let pass  
Because I wanted you."

Which game seems to be the same as

"Open the gates as high as the sky,  
And let King George and his troops go by."

In these kissing plays, and in some little romping among the young men, the time was spent until about two or three in the morning, when

they separated, two girls from a distance staying all night. Mary was able to sleep until daylight only, for no allowance is made for those who partake in these gay vigils to make up in the morning for loss of sleep.

There were no refreshments upon this occasion, but once at a singing at Christ. Yoder's, it is said that the party took nearly all the pies out of the cellar, and the empty plates were found in the wash-house next morning.

Dancing-parties are not unknown among us, but they are not popular among the plain people whom I especially describe. Some account of them, in other parts of the State, may be found in Note II. at the close of the volume.

#### FARMING.

In this fertile limestone district farming is very laborious, being entirely by tillage. Our regular routine is once in five years to plow the sod ground for corn. In the next ensuing year the same ground is sowed with oats; and when the oats come off in August, the industrious "Dutchmen" immediately manure the stubble-land for wheat. I have seen them laying the dark-brown heaps upon the yellow stubble, when, in August, I have ridden some twelve or fourteen miles down to the hill-country for blackberries.

After the ground is carefully prepared, wheat

and timothy (grass) seed are put in with a drill, and in the ensuing spring clover is sowed upon the same ground. By July, when the wheat is taken off the ground, the clover and timothy are growing, and will be ready to mow in the next or fourth summer. In the fifth, the same grass constitutes a grazing-ground, and then the sod is ready to be broken up again for Indian corn. Potatoes are seldom planted here in great quantities; a part of one of the oat-fields or corn-fields can be put into potatoes, and the ground will be ready by fall to be put into wheat, if it is desired. A successful farmer put more than half of his forty acres into wheat; this being considered the best crop. The average crop of wheat is about twenty bushels, of Indian corn about forty.

I have heard of one hundred bushels of corn in the Pequea valley, but this is very rare. When the wheat and oats are in the barn or stack, enormous eight-horse threshers,\* whose owners go about the neighborhood from farm to farm, thresh the crop in two or three days; and thus what was once a great job for winter may all be finished by the first of October.

Jacob E. is a model farmer. His buildings and fences are in good order, and his cattle well kept. He is a little past the prime of life; his beautiful head of black hair being touched with silver.

---

\* Steam-engines are now in use for threshing (1873).

His wife is dimpled and smiling, and her two hundred and twenty pounds do not prevent her being active, energetic, forehanded, and "through-going." During the winter months the two sons go to the public school,—the older one with reluctance; there they learn to read and write and "cipher," and possibly study geography; they speak English at school, and "Dutch" at home. Much education the "Dutch" farmer fears, as productive of laziness; and laziness is a mortal sin here. The E.'s rarely buy a book.\* The winter is employed partly in preparing material to fertilize the wheat-land during the coming summer. Great droves of cattle and sheep come down our road from the West, and our farmers buy from these, and fatten stock during the winter months for the Philadelphia market.

A proper care of his stock will occupy some portion of the farmer's time.† Then he has generally a great "freundschaft," or family connection, both his and his wife's; and the paying visits within a range of twenty or thirty miles, and

---

\* I suggested to one of my farming neighbors that he might advantageously have given a certain son a chance at books. "Don't want no books!" was the answer. "There's enough goes to books! Get so lazy after awhile, they won't farm."

† A young farmer's son told me also of cutting wood and quarrying stone in the winter, and added, "If a person wouldn't work in the winter, they'd be behindhand in the spring."

receiving visits in return, help to pass away the time. Then Jacob and Susanna are actively benevolent; they are liable to be called upon, summer and winter, to wait on the sick and to help bury the dead. Susanna was formerly renowned as a baker at funerals, where her services were freely given.

This rich level land of ours is highly prized by the "Dutch" for farming purposes, and the great demand has enhanced the price. The farms, too, are small, seventy acres being a fair size. When Seth R., the rich preacher, bought his last farm from an "Englishman," William G. said to him, "Well, Seth, it seems as if you Dutch folks had determined to root us English out; but thee had to pay pretty dear for thy root this time."

There are some superstitious ideas that still hold sway here, regarding the growth of plants. A young girl coming to us for cabbage-plants said that it was a good time to set them out, for "it was in the Wirgin." It is very doubtful whether she knew *what* was in Virgo, but I suppose that it was the moon. So our farmer's wife tells me that the Virgin will do very well for cabbages, but not for any flowering plant like beans, for, though they will bloom well, they will not mature the fruit. Grain should be sowed in the increase of the moon; meat butchered in the decrease will shrink in the pot.

## FARMERS' WIVES.

One of my Dutch neighbors, who, from a shoemaker, became the owner of two farms, said to me, "The woman is more than half;" and his own very laborious wife (with her portion) had indeed been so.

The woman (in popular parlance, "the old woman") milks, raises the poultry, has charge of the garden,—sometimes digging the ground herself, and planting and hoeing, with the assistance of her daughters and the "maid," when she has one. (German, *magd.*) To be sure, she does not go extensively into vegetable-raising, nor has she a large quantity of strawberries and other small fruits; neither does she plant a great many peas and beans, that are laborious to "stick." She has a quantity of cabbages and of "red beets," of onions and of early potatoes, in her garden, a plenty of cucumbers for winter pickles, and store of string-beans and tomatoes, with some sweet potatoes.

Peter R. told me that in one year, off their small farm, they sold "two hundred dollars' worth of *wedgable* things, not counting the butter." As in that year the clothing for each member of the family probably cost from ten to fifteen dollars, the two hundred dollars' worth of vegetable things was of great importance.



Our "Dutch" never make *store*-cheese. At a county fair, only one cheese was exhibited, and that was from Chester County. The farmer's wife boards all the farm-hands, and the mechanics,—the carpenter, mason, etc., who put up the new buildings, and the fence-makers. At times she allows the daughters to go out and husk corn. It was a pretty sight which I saw one fall day,—an Amish man with four sons and daughters, husking in the field.\* "We do it all ourselves," said he.

In the winter mornings perhaps the farmer's wife goes out to milk in the stable with a lantern, while her daughters get breakfast; has her house "redd up" about eight o'clock, and is prepared for several hours' sewing before dinner, laying by great piles of shirts for summer. We no longer make linen; but I have heard of one Dutch girl who had a good supply of domestic linen made into shirts and trousers for the future spouse whose "fair proportions" she had not yet seen.

There are, of course, many garments to make in a large family, but there is not much work put

---

\* Said a neighbor, "A man told me once that he was at an Amish husking,—a husking-match in the kitchen. He said he never saw as much sport in all his life. There they had the bloom-sock. There was one old man, quite gray-headed, and gray-bearded: he laughed till he shook." Said another, "There's not many huskings going on now. The most play now goes on at the infares."

upon them. We do not yet patronize the sewing-machine\* very extensively, but a seamstress or tailoress is sometimes called in. At the spring cleaning, the labors of the women folk are increased by whitewashing the picket-fences.

In March we make soap, before the labors of the garden are great. The forests are being obliterated from this fertile tract, and many use what some call "consecrated" lye;† formerly, the ash-hopper was filled, and a good lot of egg-bearing lye run off to begin the soap with, while the weaker filled the soft-soap kettle, after the soap had "come." The chemical operation of soap-making often proved difficult, and, of course, much was said about luck. "We had bad luck making soap." A sassafras stick was preferred for stirring, and the soap was stirred always in one direction. In regard to this, and that other chemical operation, making and keeping vinegar, there are certain ideas about the temporary incapacity of some persons,—ideas only to be alluded to here. If the farmer's wife never "has luck" in making soap, she employs some skillful woman to come in and help her. It is not a long operation, for the "Dutch" rush this work speedily. If the lye is well run off, two tubs of hard soap and a barrel of soft can be made in a

---

\* Sewing-machines have now become common (1873).

† Other substitutes are now used (1873).

day. A smart housekeeper can make a barrel of soap in the morning, and go visiting in the afternoon.

Great are the household labors in harvest; but the cooking and baking in the hot weather are cheerfully done for the men, who are toiling in hot suns and stifling barns. Four meals are common at this season, for "a piece" is sent out at nine o'clock. I heard of one Dutch girl's making some fifty pies a week in harvest; for if you have four meals a day, and pie at each, many are required. We have great faith in pie.

I have been told of an inexperienced Quaker housewife in the neighboring county of York, who was left in charge of the farm, and, during harvest, these important labors were performed by John Stein, John Stump, and John Stinger. She also had guests, welcome perhaps as "rain in harvest." To conciliate the Johns was very important, and she waited on them first. "What will thee have, John Stein?" "What shall I give thee, John Stump?" "And thee, John Stinger?" On one memorable occasion there was mutiny in the field, for John Stein declared that he never worked where there were not "kickelin" cakes in harvest, nor would he now. *Küchlein* proved to be cakes fried in fat; and the housewife was ready to appease "Achilles' wrath," as soon as she made this discovery.

We made in one season six barrels of cider

into apple-butter, three at a time. Two large copper kettles were hung under the beech-trees, down between the spring-house and smoke-house, and the cider was boiled down the evening before, great stumps of trees being in demand. One hand watched the cider, and the rest of the family gathered in the kitchen and labored diligently in preparing the cut apples, so that in the morning the "schnitz" might be ready to go in. (*Schneiden*, to cut, *geschnitten*.)

Two bushels and a half of cut apples will be enough for a barrel of cider. In a few hours the apples will all be in, and then you will stir, and stir, and stir, for you do not want to have the apple-butter burn at the bottom, and be obliged to dip it out into tubs and scour the kettle. Some time in the afternoon, you will take out a little on a dish, and when you find that the cider no longer "weeps out" round the edges, but all forms a simple heap, you will dip it up into earthen vessels, and when cold take it "on" to the garret to keep company with the hard soap and the bags of dried apples and cherries, perhaps with the hams and shoulders. Soap and apple-butter are usually made in an open fireplace, where hangs the kettle. At one time (about the year 1828) I have heard that there was apple-butter in the Lancaster Museum which dated from Revolutionary times; for we do not expect it to ferment in the summer. It dries away; but water is stirred

in to prepare it for the table. Sometimes peach-butter is made, with cider, molasses, or sugar, and, in the present scarcity of apples, cut pumpkin is often put into the apple-butter.\*

Soon after apple-butter-making comes butchering, for we like an early pig in the fall, when the store of smoked meat has run out. Pork is the staple, and we smoke the flitches, not preserving them in brine like the Yankees. We ourselves use much beef, and do not like smoked

---

\* Evening "snitzen" parties and apple-butter-boilings have been festive occasions. A young mechanic was telling me of the games that he had joined in after the apples were cut, etc., and added, "How I have enjoyed myself!"

Mr. E. H. Rauch, who has lived also in Berks County, thus describes an apple-butter party:

"Then Bevvv (Barbara) came and sat down in the very chair that Sally had left opposite, saying, 'I'll sit here. I am not afraid of Pete, and I guess that he is not afraid of me.' She was thought to be a very smart girl, and earned good wages, and she was quite pretty too, and nice-looking. As we were paring apples, once in awhile she handed me over a piece, which did not offend me, and she looked and talked so pleasant, that I began to think a good deal of her. When the apple-paring was done, then we must stir the apple-butter. Commonly, a boy and girl both take hold of the long handle of the stirrer, and stir together with a sort of see-saw motion, so that I have been ready to go to sleep with the stirrer in my hand.

"In the course of the evening, Bevvv and I stirred together three different times, and got very well acquainted. Then I took her home, and there was no cross old thing to come and say, 'It is time to go,' as Sally Bensamacher's father did one time."—*Letters of Pete Schwefflebrenner.*

flitch, but I speak for the majority. Sausage is a great dish with us, as in Germany.

Butchering is one of the many occasions for the display of friendly feeling, when brother or father steps in to help hang the hogs, or a sister to assist in rendering lard, or in preparing a plentiful meal. An active farmer will have two or three porkers killed, scalded, and hung up by sunrise, and by night the whole operation of sausage and "scrapple" making, and lard rendering, will be finished, and the house set in order. The friends who have assisted receive a portion of the sausage, etc., which portion is called the "metzel-sup."\* The metzel-sup is also sent to poor widows and others.

We make scrapple from the skin, a part of the livers, and heads, with the addition of corn-meal; but, instead, our "Dutch" neighbors made *liver-wurst* ("woorsht"), or meat pudding, omitting the meal, and this compound, stuffed into the larger entrails, is very popular in Lancaster market. Some make *pawn-haus* from the liquor in which the pudding-meat was boiled, adding thereto corn-meal. These three dishes are fried before eating. I have never seen hog's-head cheese in "Dutch" houses. If the boiling-pieces of beef are kept over summer, they are smoked, instead of being preserved in brine. We eat

---

\* Pronounce sup *soop*, with the *oo* short. *Metzler* is a butcher.

much smear-case (*schmier-käse*), or cottage cheese, in these regions. Children, and some grown people too, fancy it upon bread with molasses; which may be considered as an offset to the Yankee pork and molasses.

In some Pennsylvania families smear-case and apple-butter are eaten to save butter, which is a salable article. The true "Dutch" housewife's ambition is to supply the store-goods for the family as far as possible from the sale of the butter and eggs.

We have also Dutch cheese, which may be made by crumbling the dry smear-case, working in butter, salt, and chopped sage, forming it into pats, and setting them away to ripen. The *sieger-käse* is made from sweet milk boiled, with sour milk added and beaten eggs, and then set to drain off the whey. (*Ziegen-käse* is German for goat's milk cheese.)

"Schnitz and knep" is said to be made of dried apples, fat pork, and dough-dumplings cooked together.

"Tell them they're good," says one of my "Dutch" acquaintances.

Knep is from the German, *knöpfe*, buttons or knobs. In common speech the word has fallen to "nep." The "nep" are sometimes made from pie-crust, or sometimes from a batter of eggs and milk, and may be boiled without the meat; but one of my Pennsylvania German acquaint-



ances says that the smoke gives a peculiar and appetizing flavor.

Apple-dumplings in "Dutch" are *aepel-dumplings*; whence I infer that like *pye-kroosht* they are not of German origin.

In the fall our "Dutch" make *sauer-kraut*. I happened to visit the house of my friend Susanna when her husband and son were going to take an hour at noon to help her with the kraut. Two white tubs stood upon the back porch, one with the fair round heads, and the other to receive the cabbage when cut by a knife set in a board (a very convenient thing for cutting kohl-slaw and cucumbers). When cut, the cabbage is packed into a "stand" with a sauer-kraut staff, resembling the pounder with which New-Englanders beat clothes in a barrel. Salt is added during the packing. When the cabbage ferments it becomes acid. The kraut-stand remains in the cellar; the contents not being unpalatable when boiled with potatoes and the chins or ribs of pork. But the smell of the boiling kraut is very strong, and that stomach is probably strong which readily digests the meal.

Sometimes "nep" or dumplings (*knöpfe*) are boiled with the salt meat and sour-kraut. A young teacher, who was speaking of sour-kraut and nep, was asked how he spelt this word. He did not know, and said he did not care, so he got the nep.



"As Dutch as sour-kROUT," has become a familiar saying here. In Lehigh County, if I mistake not, I heard the common dialect also called "sour-kROUT Dutch."

Our "Dutch" make soup in variety, and pronounce the word short, between *soup* and *sup*. Thus there is Dutch sup, potato sup, etc.; scalded milk and bread is "bread and milk soup," bread crumbed into coffee "coffee soup."

Noodel soup (*nudeln*) is a treat. Noodles may be called domestic macaroni. I have seen a dish in which bits of fried bread were laid upon the piled-up noodles, to me unpalatable from the quantity of eggs in the latter.

Dampf-noodles, or *gedämpfte nudeln*, are boiled, and melted butter is poured over them.

The extremely popular cakes, twisted, sprinkled with salt, and baked crisp and brown, called pretzels (*brezeln*), were known in Pennsylvania long before the cry for "ein lager, zwei brezeln" (a glass of lager and two pretzels), was heard in the land.

One of my "Dutch" neighbors, who visited Western New York, was detained several hours at Elmira. "They hadn't no water-crackers out there," he complained. "Didn't know what you meant when you said water-crackers; and they hain't got pretzels. You can't get no pretzels."

Perhaps not at the railroad stations.

We generally find excellent home-made wheat bread in this limestone region. We make the pot of "sots" (or rising) overnight, with boiled mashed potatoes, scalded flour, and sometimes hops. Friday is baking-day. The "Dutch" housewife is very fond of baking in the brick oven, but the scarcity of wood must gradually accustom us to the great cooking-stove.

One of the heavy labors of the fall is the fruit-drying. Afterward your hostess invites you to partake, thus: "Mary, will you have pie? This is snits, and this is elder" (or dried apples, and dried elderberries). Dried peaches are peach snits.

A laboring woman once, speaking to me of a neighbor, said, "She hain't got many dried apples. If her girl would snitz in the evening, as I did!—but she'd rather keep company and run around than to snitz."

The majority keep one fire in winter. This is in the kitchen, which with nice housekeepers is the abode of neatness, with its rag carpet and brightly polished stove. An adjoining room or building is the wash-house, where butchering, soap-making, etc., are done by the help of a great kettle hung in the fireplace, not set in brick-work.

Adjoining the kitchen, on another side, is a state apartment, also rag-carpeted, and called "the room." The stove-pipe from the kitchen

sometimes passes through the ceiling, and tempers the sleeping-room of the parents. These arrangements are not very favorable to bathing in cold weather; indeed, to wash the whole person is not very common, in summer or in winter.

Will you go up-stairs in a neat Dutch farmhouse? Here are rag carpets again. Gay quilts are on the best beds, where green and red calico, perhaps in the form of a basket, are displayed on a white ground; or the beds bear brilliant coverlets of red, white, and blue, as if to "make the rash gazer wipe his eye." The common pillow-cases are sometimes of blue check, or of calico. In winter, people often sleep under feather-covers, not so heavy as a feather-bed. In the spring there is a great washing of bedclothes, and then the blankets are washed, which during winter supplied the place of sheets.

## HOLIDAYS.

I was sitting alone, one Christmas time, when the door opened and there entered some half-dozen youths or men, who frightened me so that I slipped out at the door. They, being thus alone, and not intending any harm, at once left. These, I suppose, were Christmas mummers, though I heard them called "bell-schnickel."

At another time, as I was sitting with my little boy, Aunt Sally came in smiling and mysterious,

and took her place by the stove. Immediately after, there entered a man in disguise, who very much alarmed my little Dan.

The stranger threw down nuts and cakes, and, when some one offered to pick them up, struck at him with a rod. This was the real bellschnickel, personated by the farmer. I presume that he ought to throw down his store of nice things for the good children, and strike the bad ones with his whip. Pelznickel is the bearded Nicholas, who punishes bad ones; whereas Krisskringle is the Christkindlein (little Christ child), who rewards good children.

On Christmas morning we cry, "Christmas-gift!" and not, as elsewhere, "A merry Christmas!" Christmas is a day when people do not work, but go to meeting, when roast turkey and mince-pie are in order, and when the "Dutch" housewife has store of cakes on hand to give to the little folks.

We still hear of barring-out at Christmas. The pupils fasten themselves in the school-house, and keep the teacher out to obtain presents from him.

The first of April (which our neighbors generally call Aprile) is a great occasion. This is the opening of the farming year. The tenant farmers and other "renters" move to their new homes, and interest-money and other debts are due; and so much money changes hands in Lancaster, on the first, that pickpockets are attracted

thither, and the unsuspicious "Dutch" farmer sometimes finds himself a loser.

The movings, on or about the first, are made festive occasions; neighbors, young and old, are gathered; some bring wagons to transport farm utensils and furniture, others assist in driving cattle, put furniture in its place, and set up bedsteads; while the women are ready to help prepare the bountiful meal. At this feast I have heard a worthy tenant farmer say, "Now help yourselves, as you did out there" (with the goods).

Whitsuntide Monday is a great holiday with the young "Dutch" folks. It occurs when there is a lull in farm-work, between corn-planting and hay-making. Now the new summer bonnets are all in demand, and the taverns are found full of youths and girls, who sometimes walk the street hand-in-hand, eat cakes and drink beer, or visit the "flying horses." A number of seats are arranged around a central pole, and, a pair taking each seat, the whole revolves by the work of a horse, and you can have a *circular* ride for six cents.

On the Fourth of July we are generally at work in the harvest-field. Several of the festivals of the church are held here as days of rest, if not of recreation. Such are Good Friday, Ascension-day, etc. On Easter, eggs colored and otherwise ornamented were formerly much in vogue.\*

---

\* A neighbor has told me that the people here used to make

Thanksgiving is beginning to be observed here, but the New Englander would miss the family gatherings, the roast turkeys, the pumpkin-pies. Possibly we go to church in the morning, and sit quiet for the rest of the day; and as for pumpkin-pies, we do not greatly fancy them. Raisin-pie, or mince-pie, we can enjoy.

The last night of October is "Hallow-eve." I was in Lancaster one Hallow-eve, and boys were ringing door-bells, carrying away door-steps, throwing corn at the windows, or running off with an unguarded wagon. I heard of one or two youngsters who had requested an afternoon holiday to go to church, but who had spent their time in going out of town to steal corn for this

---

fat-cakes—they called them "plow-lines"—on Shrove-Tuesday, or else "they conceited the flax wouldn't grow. The people used to conceit a-many things," she added. Nor is the custom of baking pancakes on Shrove-Tuesday yet given up. A correspondent of the *Reading Eagle*, of February 16th, 1872, says, "Tuesday was a great day among our county women (Berks County) for manufacturing doughnuts. In every house we entered we found the good wife engaged in some part of the baking performance; . . . and later in the day we saw heaps of the delicious nuts piled up for table use. Such are the old usages of 'Fastnacht,' and I move they be continued."

Similar reports came in also from York and Lancaster Counties; while a Lancaster correspondent, speaking of the next day, says, "Seven years ago I witnessed a sale of a large stock of cattle, on Ash-Wednesday: every cow and steer offered for sale was completely covered with wood ashes."

occasion. In the country, farm-gates are taken from their hinges and removed; and it was formerly a favorite boyish amusement to take a wagon to pieces, and, after carrying the parts up to the barn-roof, to put it together again, thus obliging the owner to take it apart and bring it down. Such "tricks" as are described by Burns in the poem of "Hallow-e'en" may be heard of occasionally, continued perhaps by the Scotch-Irish element in our population.

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

About twenty years ago, I was circulating an anti-slavery petition among women. I carried it to the house of a neighboring farmer, who was a miller also, and well to do. His wife signed the petition (*all* women did not in those days), but she signed it with her mark. I have understood that it is about twenty years since the school law was made universal here, and that our township of Upper Leacock wanted to resist by litigation the establishment of public schools.\* It is the school-tax that is onerous. Within about twenty years a great impetus has been given to education by the establishment of the county superintendency, of normal schools' and

---

\* In a late paper I find this statement: "West Cocalico did not until recently accept the provisions of the general school law of the State." (1872.)



of teachers' institutes. I think it is within this time, however, that the board of directors met, in an adjoining township, and, being called upon to vote by ballot, there were afterward found in the box several different ways of spelling the word "no."

At the last institute, a worthy young man at the blackboard was telling the teachers how to make their pupils pronounce the word "did," which they inclined to call *dit*; and a young woman told me that she found it necessary, when teaching in Berks County, to practice speaking "Dutch," in order to make the pupils understand their lessons. It must be rather hard to hear and talk "Dutch" almost constantly, and then to go to a school where the text-books are English.

There is still an effort made to have German taught in our public schools. The reading of German is considered a great accomplishment, and is one required for a candidate for the ministry among some of our plainer sects. But the teacher is generally overburdened in the winter with the *necessary* branches in a crowded, ungraded school. Our township generally has school for seven months in the year; some townships have only five; and in Berks County I have heard of one having only four months. About thirty-five dollars a month is paid to teachers, male and female.

My little boy of seven began to go to public



school this fall. For awhile I could hear him repeating such expressions as, "Che, double o, t, coot" (meaning good). "P-i-g, pick." "Kreat A, little A, pouncing P." "I don't like chincherepread." Even among our "Dutch" people of more culture, *etch* is heard for *aitch* (h), and it is a relic of early training.

The standard of our county superintendent is high (1868), and his examinations are severe. His salary is about seventeen hundred dollars. Where there is so much wealth as here, it seems almost impossible that learning should not follow, as soon as the minds of the people are turned toward it; but the great fear of making their children "lazy" operates against sending them to school. Industrious habits will certainly tend more to the pecuniary success of a farmer than the "art of writing and speaking the English language *correctly*."\*

---

\* The story of the difficulties that have beset those who have striven to introduce the public school system in some parts of Pennsylvania is a remarkable one. In the county of Berks (as well as in Lancaster) it is claimed that the Reformed and Lutheran settlers had schools, in early times, in connection with their churches; but as regards the public schools, Berks is now considerably behind Lancaster.

The fear of making the children lazy, as it seems to me now, is not the only objection to the public schools in the minds of some of our "Pennsylvania Dutch." An Amish man (who labored under the difficulty of not speaking English fluently)

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

My dear old "English" friend, Samuel G., had often been asked to stay and eat with David B., and on one occasion he concluded to accept the invitation. They went to the table, and had a silent pause; then David cut up the meat, and each workmen or member of the family put in a fork and helped himself. The guest was discomfited, and, finding that he was likely to lose his dinner otherwise, he followed their example. The invitation to eat had covered the whole. When guests are present, many say, "Now help yourselves"; but they do not use vain repetitions, as the city people do.

Coffee is still drunk three times a day in some families, but frequently without sugar. The sugar-bowl stands on the table, with spoons therein for those who want sugar; but at our late "home-coming" party I believe that I was

---

once answered some of my inquiries upon the subject of education. He said that they were not opposed to school-learning, but to high learning. "To send children to school from ten to twenty-one, we would think was opposed to Holy Scripture. There are things taught in school that don't agree with Holy Scripture."

I asked whether he thought it was wrong to teach that the earth goes round the sun. "I don't know anything about it; but I am not in favor of teaching geography and grammar in the schools: it's worldly wisdom."

the only one at the table who took sugar. The dishes of smear-case, molasses, apple-butter, etc., are not always supplied with spoons. We dip in our knives, and with the same useful implements convey the food to *our* mouths. Does the opposite extreme prevail among the farmers of Massachusetts? Do they always eat with their forks, and use napkins?

On many busy farm-occasions, the woman of the house will find it more convenient to let the men eat first,—to get the burden of the harvest-dinner off her mind and her hands, and then sit down with her daughters, her “maid” and little children, to their own repast. But the allowing to the men the constant privilege of eating first has passed away, if indeed it ever prevailed. At funeral feasts the old men and women sit down first, with the mourning family. Then succeed the second, third, and fourth tables.

Among the children of well-to-do parents, the unmarried daughter will sometimes go into the service of the married one, receiving wages regularly, or allowing them to accumulate. An acquaintance of mine in Lancaster had a hired girl living in his family who was worth twelve thousand dollars in cash means, her father having been a rich farmer. Among our plain farmers, such persons are considered more praiseworthy than the reverse.

I lately asked a lawyer in Northampton

County why certain persons had allowed the Lutheran and Reformed farmers, men of very little school learning, to outstrip them in the pursuit of wealth. He answered that all the tendency of the education of these last was saving. "In old times," he continued, "when we had no ranges nor cooking-stoves, but a fire on the hearth, I used to hear my mother say to her daughters that they must not let the dish-water boil, or they would not be married for seven years." On the same principle, when a young "English" girl whom I knew told a young "Dutchman" that she was going to make bread, he said, "I'm coming for a handful of your dough-trough scrapings;" the idea being that there should be no scrapings left.

Mr. S., of Lehigh County, says, "We make money in Pennsylvania by saving; in New York, they make money by paying out."

Mrs. R., of the same county, says, "We Pennsylvanians are brought up to work in the house and to family affairs, but the Eastern girls are brought up more in the factories, and they don't know anything about housework. Many have been married, and lived here in this town (Allentown), of whom I have heard speak, who have not lived happily, because they were not used to keep house in the way that their husbands had been accustomed to. They were very intelligent, but not accustomed to work,

and their families would get poor, and stay poor." Mrs. R.'s daughter added, that "the New England men, the Eastern men, milk and do all the outside work."

The writer thinks, nevertheless, that New England women will not be willing to admit that they do not understand housework, and are not eminently "faculized."

We Lancaster "Dutch" are always striving to seize Time's forelock. We rise, even in the winter, about four, feed the stock while the women get breakfast, eat breakfast in the short days by coal-oil lamps, and by daylight are ready for the operations of the day. The English folks and the backsliding "Dutch" are sometimes startled when they hear their neighbors blow the horn or ring the bell for dinner. On a recent pleasant October day, the farmer's wife was churning out-of-doors, and cried, "Why, there's the dinner-bells a'ready. Mercy days!" I went in to the clock, and found it at twenty minutes of eleven. The "Dutch" farmers almost invariably keep their time half an hour or more ahead, like that village in Cornwall where it was twelve o'clock when it was but half-past eleven to the rest of the world. Our "Dutch" are never seen running to catch a railroad train.

We are not a total-abstinence people. Before these times of high prices, liquor was often furnished to hands in the harvest-field.

A few years ago a meeting was held in a neighboring school-house, to discuss a prohibitory liquor law. After various speeches, the question was put to the vote, thus: "All those who want leave to drink whisky will please to rise." "Now all those who don't want to drink whisky will rise." The affirmative had a decided majority.

Work is a cardinal virtue with the "Dutchman." "He is lazy," is a very opprobrious remark. At the quilting, when I was trying to take out one of the screws, Katy Groff, who is sixty-five, exclaimed, "How lazy I am, not to be helping you!" (*"Wie ich bin faul."*)

Marriages sometimes take place between the two nationalities; but I do not think the "Dutch" farmers desire English wives for their sons, unless the wives are decidedly rich. On the other hand, I heard of an English farmer's counseling his son to seek a "Dutch" wife. When the son had wooed and won his substantial bride, "Now he will see what good cooking is," said a "Dutch" girl to me. I was surprised at the remark, for his mother was an excellent housekeeper.

The circus is the favorite amusement of our people. Lancaster papers have often complained of the slender attendance which is bestowed upon lectures, and the like; even theatrical performances are found "slow," compared with the feats of the ring.

Our "Dutch" use a freedom of language that is not known to the English, and which to them savors of coarseness. "But they mean no harm by it," says one of my English friends. It is difficult to practice reserve where the whole family sit in one heated room. This rich limestone land in which the "Dutch" delight is nearly level to an eye trained among the hills. Do hills make a people more poetical or imaginative?

Perhaps so; but there is vulgarity too among the hills.\*

---

\* Matter supplementary to this article may be found in Note II. of the Appendix.

## AN AMISH MEETING.\*

---

It was on a Sunday morning in March, when the air was bleak and the roads were execrable, that I obtained a driver to escort me to the farmhouse where an Amish meeting was to be held.

It was a little after nine o'clock when I entered, and, although the hour was so early, I found the congregation nearly all gathered, and the preaching begun.

There were forty men present, as many women, and one infant. Had the weather been less inclement, we should probably have had more little ones, for such plain people do not think it necessary to leave the babies at home.

The rooms in which we sat seemed to have been constructed for these great occasions. They were the kitchen and "the room,"—as our people call the sitting-room, or best room,—and were so arranged as to be made into one by means of two doors.

---

\* Amish is pronounced *Ommish*, the *a* being very broad, like *aw*.



Our neighbors wore the usual costume of the sect, which is a branch of the Mennonite Society, or nearly allied to it, the men having laid off their round-crowned and remarkably wide-brimmed hats. Their hair is usually cut square across the forehead, and hangs long behind; their coats are plainer than those of the plainest Quaker, and are fastened, except the overcoat, with hooks and eyes in place of buttons; whence they are sometimes called Hooker or Hook-and-Eye Mennists. The pantaloons are worn without suspenders. Formerly, the Amish were often called "beardy men," but since beards have become fashionable theirs are not so conspicuous.

The women, whom I have sometimes seen with a bright purple apron, an orange neckerchief, or some other striking bit of color, were now more soberly arrayed in plain white caps without ruffle or border, and white neckerchiefs, though occasionally a cap or kerchief was black. They wear closely fitting waists, with a little basquine behind, which is probably a relic from the times of the short gown and petticoat. Their gowns were of sober woolen stuff, frequently of flannel; and all wore aprons.

But the most surprising figures among the Amish are the little children, dressed in garments like those of old persons. It has been my lot to see at the house of her parents a tender little dark-eyed Amish maiden of three years, old

enough to begin to speak "Dutch," and as yet ignorant of English. Seated upon her father's lap, sick and suffering, with that sweet little face encircled by the plain muslin cap, the little figure dressed in that plain gown, she was one not to be soon forgotten. But the little girl that was at meeting to-day was either no Amish child or a great backslider, for she was hardly to be distinguished in dress from the "world's people."

The floors were bare, but on one of the open doors hung a long white towel, worked at one end with colored figures, such as our mothers or grandmothers put upon samplers. These perhaps were meant for flowers. The congregation sat principally on benches. On the men's side a small shelf of books ran around one corner of the room.

The preacher, who was speaking when I entered, continued for about fifteen minutes. His remarks and the rest of the services were in "Dutch." I have been criticised for applying the epithet to my neighbors, or to their language, but "Dutch" is the title which they generally apply to themselves, speaking of "us Dutch folks and you English folks," and sometimes with a pretty plain hint that some of the "Dutch" ways are discreeter and better, if not more virtuous, than the English. But, though I call them "Dutch," I am fully aware that they are

not Hollanders. Most of them are Swiss, of ancient and honorable descent, exiles on account of religious persecution.

I am sorry that I do not understand the language well enough to give a sketch of some of the discourses on this occasion. At times I understood an expression of the first speaker, such as "Let us well reflect and observe," or "Let us well consider," expressions that were often repeated. As he was doubtless a farmer, and was speaking extemporaneously, it is not remarkable that they were so.

When the preacher had taken his seat, the congregation knelt for five minutes in silence. A brother then read aloud from the German Bible, concerning Nicodemus who came to Jesus by night, etc. After this another brother rose, and spoke in a tone like that which is so common among Friends, namely, a kind of singing or chanting tone, which he accompanied by a little gesture.

While he was speaking, one or two women went out, and, as I wished to take notes of the proceedings, I followed them into the wash-house or outside kitchen, which was quite comfortable. As I passed along, I saw in the yard the wagons which had brought the people to meeting. Most of them were covered with plain yellow oil-cloth. I have been told that there are sometimes a hundred wagons gathered at one farm-house, and

that in summer the meetings are often held in barns.

I sat down by the stove in the wash-house, and a very kindly old woman, the host's mother, came and renewed the fire. As she did not talk English, I spoke to her a little in German, and she seemed to understand me. When I wrote, she wondered and laughed at my rapid movements, for writing is slower work with these people than some other kinds of labor. I suppose, indeed, that there are still some of the older women who scarcely know how to write.

I asked her whether after meeting I might look at the German books on the corner shelf,—ancient books with dark leather covers and metallic clasps. She said in reply, "Bleibsht esse?" ("Shall you stay and eat?") Yes, I would. "Ya wohl," said she, "kannsht." ("Very well, you can.")

A neat young Amish woman, the "maid" or housekeeper, came and put upon the stove a great tin wash-boiler, shining bright, into which she put water for making coffee and for washing dishes.

I soon returned to the meeting, and found the same preacher still speaking. I suppose that he had continued during my absence, and, if so, his discourse was an hour and ten minutes in length. This was quite too long to be entertaining to one who only caught the sense of an occasional pas-

sage, or of a few texts of Scripture. It was while these monotonous tones continued that I heard a rocking upon the floor overhead. It proceeded, I believe, from the young mother,—the mother of the little one before spoken of. When the child had become restless before this, or when she was tired, a young man upon the brethren's side of the room had taken it for awhile, and now it was doubtless being put to sleep in a room overhead, into which a stove-pipe passed from the apartment where we sat.

My attention was also attracted by an old lady who sat near me, and facing the stove, with her hands crossed in her lap, and a gold\* or brass ring on each middle finger. She wore a black flannel dress and a brown woolen apron, leather shoes and knit woolen stockings. Her head was bent forward toward her broad bosom, upon which was crossed a white kerchief. With her gray hair, round face, and plain linen cap, her whole figure reminded me of the peasant women of continental Europe or of a Flemish picture.

When the long sermon was ended, different brethren were called upon, and during a half-hour we had from them several short discourses,

---

\* "Were they not brass?" says one of my Old Mennist neighbors. "She wears them for some sickness, I reckon. She would not wear them for show. One of our preachers wears steel rings on his little fingers for cramps."

one or two of them nearly inaudible. The speakers were, I think, giving their views on what had been said, or perhaps they were by these little efforts preparing themselves to become preachers, or showing their gifts to the congregation.

It is stated in Herzog's Cyclopædia that among the Mennonites in Holland the number of *liebesprediger* has greatly declined, so that some congregations had no preacher. (The word *liebesprediger* I am inclined to translate as voluntary, unpaid preachers, like those among Friends.) I am in doubt, indeed, whether any such are now found in Holland. There seems to be no scarcity in this country of preachers, who are, however, in some, if not all three of the divisions of Mennonites, chosen by lot.

When these smaller efforts were over, the former preacher spoke again for twenty minutes, and several of the women were moved to tears. After this the congregation knelt in vocal prayer. When they rose, the preacher said that the next meeting would be at the house of John Lapp, in two weeks. He pronounced a benediction, ending with the name of Jesus, and the whole congregation, brethren and sisters, curtsied, or made a reverence, as the French express it. This was doubtless in allusion to the text, "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow." Finally, a hymn, or a portion of one, was sung, drawn out in a peculiar manner by dwelling on

the words. I obtained a hymn-book, and copied a portion. It seems obscure :

“ Der Schopfer auch der Vater heisst,  
Durch Christum, seinen Sohne ;  
Da wirket mit der Heilig Geist,  
Einiger Gott drey Namen,  
Von welchem kommt ein Gotteskind  
Gewaschen ganz rein von der Sund,  
Wird geistlich gespeisst und trancket,  
Mit Christi Blut, sein Willen thut  
Irdisch verschmacht aus ganzen Muthe,  
Der Vater sich ihm schenket.”

The book from which I copied these lines was in large German print, and bore the date 1785. In front was this inscription, in the German tongue and handwriting: “This song-book belongs to me, Joseph B——. Written in the year of Christ 1791; and I received it from my father.” Both father and son have been gathered to their fathers; the book, if I mistake not, was in the house of the grandson, and it may yet outlast several generations of these primitive people.

The services closed at a little after noon. From their having been conducted entirely in German, or in German and the dialect, some persons might suppose that these were recent immigrants to our country. But the B. family just alluded to was one of the first Amish families that came here, having arrived in 1737.

It seems that the language is cherished with care, as a means of preserving their religious and



other peculiarities. The public schools, however, which are almost entirely English, must be a powerful means of assimilation.

The services being ended, the women quietly busied themselves (while I wrote) in preparing dinner. In a very short time two tables were spread in the apartment where the meeting had been held. Two tables, I have said,—and there was one for the men to sit at,—but on the women's side the *table* was formed of benches placed together, and of course was quite low. I should have supposed that this was a casual occurrence, had not an acquaintance told me that many years ago, when she attended an Amish meeting, she sat up to two benches.

Before eating there was a silent pause, during which those men who had not yet a place at the table stood uncovered reverentially, holding their hats before their faces. In about fifteen minutes the "first table" had finished eating, and another silent pause was observed in the same manner before they rose.

I was invited to the second table, where I found beautiful white bread, butter, pies, pickles, apple-butter, and refined molasses. I observed that there were no spoons in the molasses and apple-butter. A cup of coffee also was handed to each person who wished it. We were not invited to take more than one.

This meal marks the progress of wealth and



luxury, or the decline of asceticism, since the day when bean soup was the principal if not the only dish furnished on these occasions. The same neighbor who told me of sitting up to two benches, many years ago, told me that at that time they were served with bean soup in bright dishes, doubtless of pewter or tin. Three or four persons ate out of one dish. It was very unhandy, she said.

But while thus sketching the manners of my simple, plain neighbors, let me not forget to acknowledge that ready hospitality which thus provides a comfortable meal even to strangers visiting the meeting. Besides myself, there were at least two others present who were not members, —two German Catholic women, such as hire out to work.

The silent pause before and after eating was also observed by the second table; and after we rose a third company sat down.

When all had done, I gave a little assistance in clearing the tables, in carrying the butter into the cellar and the other food to the wash-house. The dishes were taken to the roofed porch between the latter and the house, where some of the women-folk washed them. A neat table stood at the foot of the cellar-stairs, and received the valued product of the dairy, the fragments being put away in an orderly manner.

I now had a time of leisure, for my driver had

gone to see a friend, and I must await his coming. This gave me an opportunity to talk with several sisters. I inquired of a fine-looking woman when the feet-washing would be held, and when they took the Lord's supper. When I asked whether they liked those who were not members to attend the feet-washing, I understood her to say that they did not. (I attended, not a great while after, a great Whitsuntide feet-washing and bread-breaking in the meeting-house of the New Mennonites.)

I had now an opportunity to examine the books. Standing upon a bench, I took down a great volume, well printed in the German language, and entitled "The Bloody Theatre; or, The Martyr's Mirror of the Baptists, or Defenceless Christians; who, on Account of the Testimony of Jesus, their Saviour, Suffered and were Put to Death, from the Time of Christ to the Year 1660. Lancaster, 1814." This book was a version from the Dutch (*Holländisch*) of Thielem J. van Bracht, and it has also been rendered from German into English. I was not aware, at the time, that I had before me one of the principal sources whence the history of the Mennonites is to be drawn,—a history which is still unwritten.

The books were few in number, and I noticed no other so remarkable as this. Another German one, more modern in appearance, was entitled

“Universal Cattle-Doctor Book; or, The Cures of the old Shepherd Thomas, of Bunzen, in Silesia, for Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Swine, and Goats.”

While I was looking over the volumes, a little circumstance occurred, which, although not flattering to myself, is perhaps too characteristic to be omitted. My “Dutch” neighbors are not great readers, and to read German is considered an accomplishment even among those who speak the dialect. To speak “Dutch” is very common, of course, but to read German is a considerable attainment. I have, therefore, sometimes surprised a neighbor by being able to read the language. I am naturally not unwilling to be admired, and, as two or three sisters were standing near while I examined the books, I endeavored in haste to give them a specimen of my attainments. I therefore took a passage quickly from the great “Martyr-Book,” and read aloud a sentence like this: “Grace, peace, and joy through God our Heavenly Father; wisdom, righteousness, and truth, through Jesus Christ his Son, together with the illumining of the Holy Spirit, be with you.” Glancing up to see the surprise which my proficiency must produce, I beheld a different expression of countenance, for the attention of some of the thoughtful sisters was attracted by the subject-matter, instead of the reader, and that aroused a sentiment of devotion beautifully expressed.

I asked our host, "Have you no history of your society?"

"No," he answered; "we just hand it down."

I have since heard, however, that there are papers or written records in charge of a person who lives at some distance from me. From certain printed records I have been able to trace a streamlet of history from its source in Switzerland, where the Anabaptists suffered persecution in Berne, Zurich, etc. I have read of their exile into Alsace and the Palatinate; of the aid afforded to them by their fellow-believers, the Mennonites of Holland; and of their final colonization in Pennsylvania, where they also are called Mennonites. The Amish, however, seem to have been a Swiss body of a more rigid rule, with a preacher named Amen, from whom they are called. They were, I believe, more strict than their brethren in Alsace.

Nearly all the congregation had departed when my driver at last arrived. I shook hands with those that were left, and kissed the pleasant old lady, the mother of our host.

## SWISS EXILES.

---

THE plain people among whom I live, Quaker-like in appearance, and, like the Quakers, opposed to oaths and to war,\* are to a great extent descendants of Swiss Baptists or Anabaptists, who were banished from their country for refusing to conform to the established Reformed Church.

Some of the early exiles took refuge in Alsace and the Palatinate, and afterwards came to Pennsylvania, settling in Lancaster County, under the kind patronage of our distinguished first Proprietor. William Penn's sympathy for them was doubtless increased by their resembling himself in so many important particulars.

• (Some of these Mennonites from Holland ap-

---

\* Our German Baptists are more decidedly non-resistant than the Quakers. Some of them refuse to vote for civil officers.

The term Anabaptist is from the Greek, and signifies one who baptizes again. All Baptists baptize anew those who were baptized in infancy. The term Anabaptist, in the present essay, is used indifferently with Baptist, and, in a degree, with Mennonite.

pear also to have been among the early settlers at Germantown.)

If any one inclines to investigate the traditions of these people, let him ask the plain old men of the county whence they originated. I think that a great part of the Amish and other Mennonites will tell him of their Swiss origin.

Nor are very important written records wanting upon the subject of the Swiss persecutions. Two volumes in use among our German Baptists narrate the story.

The first is the great Martyr-book, called "The Bloody Theatre; or Martyr's Mirror of the Defenceless Christians," by Thielem J. van Bracht, published in Dutch, about the year 1660; translated into German, and afterwards into English.\*

The second printed record, circulating in our county, and describing the sufferings of some of the Swiss Anabaptists, is a hymn-book formerly in use among our Old Mennists, but now, I think, employed only by the Amish.

It is a collection of "several beautiful Christian songs," composed in prison at Bassau,† in the castle, by the Switzer Brethren, "and by other orthodox (*rechtglaubige*) Christians, here and there."

I know of no English version.

---

\* The English version is one of the labors of Daniel Rupp.

† Bassau is, I suppose, Passau upon the Danube, in Bavaria. Is it not written *Passau* in the Martyr-book?

Near the close of this hymn-book there is an account of the afflictions which were endured by the brethren in Switzerland, in the canton of Zurich, on account of the gospel (“*um des Evangeliums willen*”).

The first-mentioned work, the great Martyr-book, is a ponderous volume.

The author begins his martyrology with Jesus, John, and Stephen, whom he includes among the Baptist or the defenceless martyrs. I suppose that he includes them among the Baptists on the ground that they were not baptized in infancy, but upon faith. From these, the great story comes down in one thousand octavo pages, describing the intense cruelties of the Roman emperors, telling of persecutions by the Saracens, persecutions of the Waldenses and Albigenses, and describing especially the sufferings which the Baptists (in common with other Protestants) endured in Holland under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II.\*

The narrative of the persecution of the Anabaptists of Switzerland by their fellow-Protestants is mostly found at the close of the volume. It comes down to the year 1672, and must therefore be, in part at least, an appendix to the original volume.

---

\* Of the heretics executed by Alva in the Spanish Netherlands, a large proportion were Anabaptists.—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

Allusions to the severe treatment of the Anabaptists of Switzerland may also be found in Herzog's Cyclopædia and in Appletons'.

In the former work we read that Anabaptism, after a public theological disputation, was by the help of the authorities suppressed in Switzerland.\*

In the American Cyclopædia (article Anabaptists), we read that Melancthon and Zwingli were themselves troubled by questions respecting infant baptism, in connection with the personal faith required by Protestantism. Nevertheless, Zwingli himself is said to have pronounced sentence upon Mentz, who had been his friend and fellow-student, in these words: "Whosoever dips (or baptizes) a second time, let him be dipped." "*Qui iterum mergit, mergatur.*" This humorous saying appears to be explained in the Martyr-book, where we read that Felix Mentz was drowned at Zurich "for the truth of the gospel," in 1526. The persecution of such men is said to have shocked the moderate of all parties.

Upon the authority of Balthazar Hubmor (whom I suppose to be the Hubmeyer of the

---

\* How thoroughly it was suppressed may be inferred from the fact that of the population of Berne, in 1850, only one thousand persons are put down as Baptists in a population of 458,000. Of the remainder, 54,000 are Catholics, and the remainder of the Reformed Church (I give round numbers).—See the American Cyclopædia (Appletons').



Cyclopædia), the Martyr-book states that Zwingle, etc., imprisoned at one time twenty persons of both sexes, in a dark tower, never more to see the light of the sun.

This early Swiss Protestant persecution occurred, it will be observed, about 1526, and the latest recorded in the Martyr-book in or about 1672, covering a period of nearly one hundred and fifty years.\*

At the same time that the Swiss Baptists were suffering at the hands of other Protestants, Anabaptists of the peaceful class were found in Holland in large numbers. The record of their sufferings and martyrs (says the American Cyclopædia) furnishes a touching picture in human history. William of Orange, founder of the Dutch republic, was sustained in the gloomiest hours by their sympathy and aid.† That great prince, however importuned, steadily refused to persecute them.

Simon Menno, born at the close of the fifteenth or the commencement of the sixteenth century, educated for the priesthood of the Roman Catholic church, converted in manhood to the faith of the Anabaptists, became their chief leader.

---

\* Zschokke, in his *History of Switzerland*, accuses the Anabaptists of causing great trouble and scandal. Some account of the furious or warlike Anabaptists of Holland may be found in the *American Cyclopædia*.

† This must not be understood as aid in bearing arms.

Mennonites and Anabaptists have from his time been interchangeable terms.\*

It was about seventeen years after the drowning of Mentz in Switzerland, and while the Catholic persecution was raging in Holland, that in the year 1543 an imperial edict was issued

---

\* One of Menno's brothers is said to have been connected with the Anabaptists of Münster, those who took up arms, etc. Of these, whose course was so very different from the lives of our pacific Baptists in this country, Menno may have received some, after their defeat, to come under the peaceable rule. There are in the Netherlands, says a recent authority, 40,000 Mennonites. They are a true, pure Netherlandish appearance, which is older than the Reformation, and therefore must not be identified with the Protestantism of the sixteenth century.

Menno Simon does not merit being called the father of the Netherlandish Mennonites, but rather the first shepherd of the scattered sheep,—the founder of their church community.

The ground-thought from which Menno proceeded was not, as with Luther, justification by faith, or, as with the Swiss Reformers, the absolute dependence of the sinner upon God, in the work of salvation. The holy christian life, in opposition to worldliness, was the point whence Menno proceeded, and to which he always returned. In the Romish church we see ruling the spirit of Peter; in the Reformed Evangelical the spirit of Paul; in Menno we see arise again James the Just, the brother of the Lord.

See articles *Menno* and *Mennonites*, and *Holland*, in Herzog's "Real-Encyclopädie," Stuttgart and Hamburg, 1858.

Many of the Mennonites of Holland at the present day seem to have wandered far from the teachings of Menno, and to be very different from the simple Mennonite communities of Pennsylvania.

against Menno; for both parties persecuted the Baptists,—the Catholics in the Low Countries, the Protestants in Switzerland. The Martyr-book tells us that a dreadful decree was proclaimed through all West Friesland, containing an offer of general pardon, the favor of the emperor, and a hundred carlgulden to all malefactors and murderers who would deliver Menno Simon into the hands of the executioners. Under pain of death, it was forbidden to harbor him; but God preserved and protected him wonderfully, and he died a natural death, near Lubeck, in the open field, in 1559, aged sixty-six.

It is further mentioned that he was buried in his own garden.\*

About fourteen years after the death of Menno, or in the year 1573, we read in the Martyr-book that Dordrecht had submitted to the reigning prince, William of Orange, the first not to shed blood on account of faith or belief.

But the toleration which William extended to the Baptists was not imitated by his great compeer, Elizabeth of England. For the Martyr-book tells us that in 1575 "some friends," who

---

\* The burying of Menno in his garden can be explained by the great secrecy which in times of persecution attended the actions of the persecuted sects. The family graveyards of Lancaster County, located upon farms, may be in some degree traditional, from times of persecution, when Baptists had no churches, etc., but met in secret.

had fled to England, having met in the suburbs of London "to hear the word of God," were spied out, and the constable took them to prison. Two of these were burnt at Smithfield, in the eighteenth year of Elizabeth. Jan Pieters was one of them, a poor man whose first wife had been burnt at Ghent; he then married a second, whose first husband had been burnt at the same place.

Thus it befell the unfortunate Jan that while his wife was burnt by Catholics, he himself suffered at the hands of English Protestants.\*

---

\* To the writer it is a question of some interest how far George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, was acquainted with the lives, sufferings, and writings of the Anabaptists.

The common people of England may readily have obtained some knowledge of the Baptists from the number that were cruelly put to death. In 1534 Henry VIII. commanded foreigners who had been baptized in infancy, and had been re-baptized, to leave the realm in twelve days, on pain of death. It seems that certain Dutch Baptists braved the threatened punishment; for twenty-six were, in different places, and at different dates, burned within a few years. Under Edward VI., many Baptists suffered extreme punishment, Cranmer and Latimer, Ridley and John Rogers, either approving or actually assisting as inquisitors. See "The Baptists; Who they are, and What they have done," by George B. Taylor, D.D.

The year 1534, in which Henry VIII. issued the proclamation alluded to, was the time of the Anabaptist occupation of Münster. The feelings of Henry towards the Peasants' War and the Münster kingdom doubtless resembled those of his successor towards the French revolutionists of 1798,—but George III. did not put any one to death by fire.

The expression "sheep" or "lambs," which is applied to some of the Baptist martyrs, alludes, I suppose, to their non-resistance. Thus, in 1576, Hans Bret, a servant, whose master was about to be apprehended, gave him warning, so that he escaped, but himself, "this innocent follower of Christ, fell into the paws of the wolves." . . . "As he stood at the stake, they kindled the fire, and burnt this sheep alive."

The next year after this, William of Orange had occasion to call to order, as it appears, some of his own subjects. The magistrates of Middelburg had announced to the Baptists that they must take an oath of fidelity and arm themselves, or else give up their business and shut up their houses. The Baptists had recourse to William, promising to pay levies and taxes, and desiring to be believed on their yea and nay. William granted their request, their yea was to be taken in the place of an oath, and the delinquent was to be punished as for perjury.

In William Penn's Treatise on Oaths it is stated that William of Orange said, "Those men's yea must pass for an oath, and we must not urge this thing any further, or we must confess that the Papists had reason to force us to a religion that was against our conscience."

About nine years after William had thus reproved the magistrates of Middelburg, or in

the year 1586, the Baptists came to grief elsewhere. It is stated that those called Anabaptists, who had taken refuge in the Prussian dominions, were ordered by "the prince of the country" to depart from his entire duchy of Prussia, and in the next year from all his dominions. This was because they were said to speak scandalously of infant baptism.

About the close of the century, pleasanter times for the Baptists seem to have followed. "When the north wind of persecution became violent, there were intervals when the pleasant south wind of liberty and repose succeeded."

"But now occurred the greatest mischief in Zurich and Berne, by those who styled themselves Reformed;" but others of the same name, "especially the excellent regents of the United Netherlands," opposed such proceedings.

The Martyr-book says, in substance, "It is a lamentable case that those who boast that they are the followers of the defenceless Lamb do no longer possess the lamb's disposition, but, on the contrary, have the nature of the wolf. It seems as if they could not bear it that any should travel towards heaven in any other way than that which they go themselves, as was exemplified in the case of Hans Landis, who was a minister and teacher of the gospel of Christ. Being taken to Zurich, he refused to desist from preaching and to deny his faith, and was sentenced to death,—

the edict of eighty years before not having died of old age. They, however, persuaded the common people that he was not put to death for religion's sake, but for disobedience to the authorities."\*

After the death of Hans Landis, persecution rested for twenty-one years, when the ancient hatred broke out afresh in Zurich.

The Baptists now asked permission to leave the country with their property, but this was not granted to them. "They might choose," says the Martyrology, "to go with them [the Reformed] to church, or to die in prison. To the first they would not consent; therefore they might expect the second."

This brings us to the era of the persecution described in the hymn-book of which I formerly spoke,—the book now in use among the Amish of our country.

This little volume—little when compared to the ponderous Martyr-book—gives an account

---

\* Hans (or John) Landis is the name of the sufferer just spoken of. Several Landises are mentioned in the martyrologies, and the name is very common in Lancaster County at this time. John Landis is remarkably so.

In quoting from the Martyr-book, I employ the English version, "Martyr's Mirror." I have lately had an opportunity of seeing an old German copy, from the press of the Brotherhood at Ephrata, about 1750. I find that it is differently arranged from the modern English version, and I suspect there are other variations.



of the persecution in Zurich between the years 1635 and 1645. Many of the persons mentioned in the hymn-book as suffering at that time appear to be of families now found in Lancaster County,—not only from the hymn-book's being preserved here, but especially because some of the surnames are the same as are now found here, or only slightly different. Thus we have Landis, Meylin, Strickler, Bachmann; and Gut, now Good; Müller, now Miller; Baumann, now Bowman.

Mention is made of about eighteen persons who died in prison during this persecution, in the period of nine or ten years. Proclamation was made from the pulpits forbidding the people to afford shelter to the Baptists: even their own children who harbored them were liable to be fined,—as Hans Müller's wife and children, who were fined forty pounds because "they showed mercy to their dear father."

The hymn-book states that the *Gelehrte* (the learned or the clergy?) accompanied the captors, running day and night with their servants. Many of the persecuted fell into the power of the authorities,—men and women, the pregnant, the nursing mother, the sick.

In the midst of this, the authorities of Amsterdam, themselves Calvinists or Reformed, being moved by the solicitations of the Baptists of Amsterdam, sent a respectful petition to the



burgomaster and council of Zurich, to mitigate the persecution; but the petition, it is said, excited an unfriendly and irritating answer.

It seems that some of the Baptists, harassed in Zurich, took refuge in Berne; and about the time that the persecution in Zurich came to a close, or about 1645, it is stated that "those of Berne" threatened the Baptists. About four years after, "those of Schaffhausen" issued an edict against the people called Anabaptists.\*

Only a few years later, or in 1653, as we read in the Martyr-book, there was another persecution elsewhere. The record says, in substance, "As a lamb in making its escape from the wolf is eventually seized by the bear" (we like the quaint language), "so it obtained for several defenceless followers of the meek Jesus, who, persecuted in Switzerland by the Zwinglians, were permitted to live awhile in peace in the Alpine districts, under a Roman Catholic prince, Willem Wolfgang. About this year, however, this prince banished the Anabaptists, so called. But they were received in peace and with joy elsewhere,†

---

\* From Schaffhausen came some of the Stauffer family, as I have read. The Stauffers are numerous in our county. For some family traditions, see the close of this article.

† In the duchy of Cleves, the town of Crefeld, some fifty or sixty years later, gave refuge to the Dunkers. It appears also to have harbored some of the French Protestant refugees at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. See "Ephrata."

particularly in Cleves, under the Elector of Brandenburg, and in the Netherlands. 'When they persecute you in one city,' saith the Lord, 'flee ye into another.'"

About six years after, or in 1659, an edict was issued in Berne, from which extracts are given in the Martyr-book. If the edict in full brings no more serious charges against the Baptists than do these extracts, this paper itself may be regarded as a noble vindication of the Anabaptists of Switzerland at this era.

According to the substance of this Bernese edict, the teachers of this people—*i.e.* the preachers—were to be seized wherever they could be sought out, "and brought to our Orphan Asylum to receive the treatment necessary to their conversion; or, if they persist in their obstinacy, they are to receive the punishment in such cases belonging. Meantime the officers are to seize their property, and present an inventory of the same.

"To the Baptists in general, who refuse to desist from their error, the punishment of exile shall be announced. It is our will and command that they be escorted to the borders, a solemn promise obtained from them, since they will not swear, and that they be banished entirely from our country till it be proved that they have been converted. Returning unconverted, and refusing to recant, they shall be whipped, branded, and

again banished, which condign punishment is founded upon the following reasons and motives :

“ 1. All subjects should confirm with an oath the allegiance which they owe to the authorities ordained of God. The Anabaptists, who refuse the oath, cannot be tolerated.

“ 2. Subjects should acknowledge that the magistracy is from God, and with God. But the Anabaptists, who declare that the magisterial office cannot exist in the Christian church, are not to be tolerated in the country.

“ 3. All subjects are bound to protect and defend their country. But the Anabaptists refuse to bear arms, and cannot be tolerated. . . .

“ 5. The magistracy is ordained of God, to punish evil-doers, especially murderers, etc. But the Anabaptists refuse to report these to the authorities, and therefore they cannot be tolerated.\*

“ 6. Those who refuse to submit to the wholesome ordinances of the government, and who act in opposition to it, cannot be tolerated. Now, the Anabaptists transgress in the following manner :

“ They preach without the calling of the magistracy ; baptize without the command of the authorities ; . . . and do not attend the meetings of the church.

---

\* They were probably conscientiously opposed to the death penalty.

"We have unanimously resolved that all should inflict banishment and the other penalties against all who belong to this corrupted and extremely dangerous and wicked sect, that they may make no further progress, but that the country may be freed from them; on which, in grace, we rely.

"As regards the estate of the disobedient exiles, or of those who have run away, it shall, after deducting costs, be divided among the wives and children who remain in obedience.

"We command that no person shall lodge nor give dwelling to a Baptist, whether related to him or not, nor afford him the necessaries of life. But every one of our persuasion should be exhorted to report whatever information he can obtain of them to the high bailiff.

"And an especial proclamation of this last article shall be made from the pulpit."

This Bernese edict, being read in all parts, was a source of great distress, and it appeared to the Baptists as if "the beautiful flower of the orthodox Christian church" would be entirely extirpated in those parts.

It was therefore concluded to send certain persons from the cities of Dordrecht, Leyden, Amsterdam, etc., to the Hague, where the puissant States-General were in session, to induce them to send petitions to Berne and Zurich for the relief of the people suffering oppression.

The States-General, as "kind fathers of the poor, the miserable, and the oppressed," took immediate cognizance of the matter.

Letters were written "to the lords of Berne" for the liberation of prisoners, etc., and to the lords of Zurich for the restoration of the property of the imprisoned, deceased, and exiled Baptists. The letter to Berne narrates (in brief) that "the States-General have learned, from persons called in this country Mennonists, that their brethren called Anabaptists suffer great persecution at Berne, being forbidden to live in the country, but not allowed to remove with their families and property. We have likewise learned that some of them have been closely confined; which has moved us to Christian compassion.

"We request you, after the good example of the lords-regent of Schaffhausen, to grant the petitioners time to depart with their families and property wherever they choose. To this end, we request you to consider that when, in 1655, the Waldenses were so virulently persecuted by the Romans for the confession of their Reformed religion, and the necessities of the dispersed people could not be relieved but by large collections raised in England, this country, etc., the churches of the Baptists, upon the simple recommendation of their governments, and in Christian love and compassion, contributed with so much benevolence that a remarkably large

sum was raised. . . . Farewell, etc. At the Hague, 1660."

The letter of the States-General to Zurich is similar to the foregoing abstract.

Besides these acts of the States-General, several cities of the United Netherlands, being entirely opposed to restraint of conscience, reproved "the members of their society in Switzerland," and exhorted them to gentleness.

Thus, the burgomasters and lords of Rotterdam, speaking in behalf of the elders of the church called Mennonist, whose fellow-believers in Berne are called in derision Anabaptists: "As to ourselves, honorable lords, we are of opinion that these men can be safely tolerated in the commonwealth, and for this judgment we have to thank William, Prince of Orange, of blessed memory, who established, by his bravery, liberty of conscience for us, and could never be induced to deprive the Mennonites of citizenship.

"We have never repented of this, for we have never learned that these people have sought to excite sedition, but, on the contrary, they have cheerfully paid their taxes.

"Although they confess that Christians cannot conscientiously act as officers of government, and are opposed to swearing, yet they do not refuse obedience to the authorities, and, if they are convicted of a violation of truth, are willing to undergo the punishment due to perjury. We

indulge the hope that your lordships will either repeal the onerous decree against the Mennonists, or at least grant to the poor wanderers sufficient time to make their preparations, and procure residences in other places.

“When this is done, your lordships will have accomplished a measure well pleasing to God, advantageous to the name of the Reformed, and gratifying to us who are connected with your lordships in the close ties of religion. Rotterdam, 1660.”\*

These appeals of the States-General and of the cities of Holland seem to have had very little effect, at least upon the authorities of Berne, for there arose eleven years later, or in 1671, another severe persecution of the Baptists in that canton, which was so virulent that it seemed as if the authorities would not cease until they had expelled that people entirely.

In consequence of this, seven hundred persons, old and young, were constrained to forsake their property, relations, and country, and retire to the Palatinate.† Some, it seems, took refuge in Alsace, above Strasburg.

An extract from a letter given in the Martyr-book says, “Some follow chopping wood, others labor in the vineyards; hoping, I suppose, that

---

\* Abstracted from the passage or letter in the great Baptist Martyr-book, the “Martyr’s Mirror.”

† “Martyr’s Mirror.”



after some time tranquillity will be restored, and they will be able to return to their habitations; but I am afraid that this will not happen soon. . . . The authorities of Berne had six of the prisoners (one of whom was a man that had nine children) put in chains and sold as galley-slaves between Milan and Malta."\*

This severe penalty of being sold as slaves to row the galleys or great sail-boats which traversed the Mediterranean was also impending over other able-bodied prisoners, as it is said, but "a lord of Berne," named Beatus, was excited to compassion, and obtained permission that the prisoners should leave the country upon bail that they would not return without permission.

In the year 1672, the brethren in the United Netherlands (the Mennonites or Baptists) sent some of their members into the Palatinate to inquire into the condition of the refugees, and the latter were comforted and supported by the assistance of the churches and members of the United Netherlands.

---

\* This, it appears, is not the first instance of this punishment being inflicted at Berne. A list in the *Martyr-book* of persons put to death for their faith concludes thus: "Copied from the letter of Hans Loersch, while in prison at Berne, 1667, whence he was taken in chains to sea."

The dreadful fate of the galley-slave who was chained to the oar or to the bench, exposed to the society of criminals, etc., may be found alluded to in works of fiction, such as Zschokke's "*Alamontade, or the Galley-Slave.*"



There were among the refugees husbands and wives who had to abandon their consorts, who belonged to the Reformed Church and could not think of removal.

Among these were two ministers, whose families did not belong to the church (Baptists), and who had to leave without finding whether their wives would go with them, or whether they loved their property more than their husbands. "Such incidents occasioned the greater distress, since the authorities granted such persons remaining permission to marry again."\*

Alsace and the Palatinate (lying upon the Rhine), where our Swiss exiles had taken refuge, were soon after devastated in the great wars of their ambitious neighbor, Louis XIV., King of France. Turenne, the French general, put the Palatinate, a fine and fertile country, full of populous towns and villages, to fire and sword. The Elector Palatine, from the top of his castle at Mannheim, beheld two cities and twenty towns in flames.† Turenne, with the same indifference, destroyed the ovens, and laid waste part of the country of Alsace, to prevent the enemy from subsisting.‡

About fourteen years after, or in the winter of 1688-9, the Palatinate was again ravaged by the French king's army. The French generals gave

---

\* "Martyr's Mirror." † Voltaire's "Age of Louis XIV."

‡ The troops of the empire of Germany, or of Germany and Spain combined. See "Age of Louis XIV."

notice to the towns but lately repaired, and then so flourishing, to the villages, etc., that their inhabitants must quit their dwellings, although it was then the dead of winter; for all was to be destroyed by fire and sword.

"The flames with which Turenne had destroyed two towns and twenty villages of the Palatinate were but sparks in comparison to this last terrible destruction, which all Europe looked upon with horror."\*

Between the time of these two great raids there occurred several noteworthy incidents. There came to Holland and Germany, in the year 1677, a man who was then of little note, a man of peace, belonging to a new and persecuted sect, but who has since become better known in history, at least to us who inhabit Pennsylvania, than Marshal Turenne, or the great Louis XIV. himself. It was the colonizer and statesman, the Quaker, William Penn.

---

\* "Age of Louis XIV." The following is a testimony for the Mennonites: "in the words of the Dutch ambassador (Van Beuning) to Monsieur de Turenne: 'The Mennonites are good people, and the most commodious to a state of any in the world; partly because they do not aspire to places of dignity; partly because they edify the community by the simplicity of their manners, and application to arts and industry; and partly because we fear no rebellion from a sect who make it an article of their faith never to bear arms.' The said industry and frugality they carried with them to Pennsylvania, and thereby are become very wealthy."—MORGAN EDWARDS.

The Elector Palatine then reigning was a relative of the King of England. Penn failed to see this prince, but he addressed a letter to him, to the "Prince Elector Palatine of Heydelbergh," in which he desires to know "what encouragement a colony of virtuous and industrious families might hope to receive from thee, in case they should transplant themselves into this country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting taxes, oaths, arms, etc."

I know not what encouragement, if any, the Elector offered to Penn; but only about four years later Penn's great colony was founded across the Atlantic, a colony which afforded refuge to many "Palatines."\*

Of this journey to Germany and Holland, just spoken of, Penn kept a journal, and there is mention made at Amsterdam of Baptists and "Menists," or Mennonites; but whether he ever met in Europe any of our Swiss exiles I do not find stated in history. Of his other two journeys to Germany, no journal has been found.

Eight years after Penn's journey there oc-

---

\* Several towns and townships in southeastern Pennsylvania bear record of the Palatinate, etc. In Lancaster County we have Strasburg, doubtless named for that city in Alsace, and both town and township of Manheim. Adjoining counties have Heidelbergs. The Swiss Palatines do not seem to have preserved enough affection for the land of their origin to bestow Swiss names upon our Lancaster County towns. What wonder?

curred, in the year 1685, a circumstance which may have especially interested our Swiss Baptists and have operated to bring their colony to Pennsylvania; for in June, 1685, the Elector Palatine dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to a Roman Catholic family.\*

The Swiss exiles that first took refuge in Lancaster County came here about thirty-eight years after the severe Bernese persecution of 1671.

Rupp, the historian of our county, tells us that in 1706 or 1707 a number of the persecuted Swiss Mennonites went to England and made a particular agreement with the honorable proprietor, William Penn, for lands.

He further says that several families from the Palatinate, descendants of the distressed Swiss, emigrated to America and settled in Lancaster County in the year 1709.†

---

\* "This year of which I am now writing must ever be remembered as the most fatal to the Protestant religion. In February a king of England declared himself a papist. In June, Charles, the Elector Palatine, dying without issue, the electoral dignity went to the house of Newburgh, a most bigoted popish family. In October, the King of France recalled and vacated the edict of Nantes."—*Burnet's History of his Own Time*.

† This was twenty-eight years after the founding of Penn's colony. Several years earlier, or in 1701, some Mennonites bought land in Germantown, and in 1708 built a church (or meeting-house). For this information I am obliged to Dr. Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania.

"In the year 1708, about fifty Palatines, who were Lutherans,

The next year, the commissioners of property had agreed with Martin Kendig, Hans Herr, etc., "Switzers" lately arrived in this province, for ten thousand acres of land, twenty miles east of Connystogoe.\*

The supplies of the colonists were at first scanty, until the seed sown in a fertile soil yielded some thirty-, others forty-fold.† Their nearest mill was at Wilmington, distant, as I estimate, some thirty miles.

One of their number was soon sent to Europe to bring out other emigrants, and after the accession the colony numbered about thirty families. They mingled with the Indians in hunting

---

and were ruined, came over to England. Queen Anne allowed them a shilling a day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations; and from these circumstances there arose a general disposition among all the poor of that country to come over. They came to Holland in great bodies: the Anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in Holland and in transporting them to England. Great numbers of these were sent to Ireland, but most of them to the plantations in North America, where it is believed their industry will quickly turn to a good account."—See Burnet's "Own Time." I am told that of those thus sent to Ireland many afterwards came to America; of such was Philip Embury, who, being converted in Ireland, came to New York, and was the first to introduce Methodism on the continent. He and his family were from the Palatinate.

\* The above-mentioned "Connystogoe" it would probably be very difficult to point out. The Conestoga Creek empties into the Susquehanna below Lancaster.

† Rupp.

and fishing. These were hospitable and respectful to the whites.\*

We are told that the early colonists had strong faith in the fruitfulness and natural advantages of their choice of lands. "They knew these would prove to them and their children the home of plenty." Their anticipations have never failed.†

The harmony existing between the Indians and these men of peace is very pleasing. Soon after their first settlement here, Lieutenant-Governor Gookin made a journey to Conestogo (1711), and in a speech to the Indians tells them that Governor Penn intends to present five belts of wampum to the Five Nations, "and one to you of Conestogo, and requires your friendship to the Palatines, settled near Pequea."‡

---

\* Rupp.

† The question has been discussed, why did the Germans select the limestone lands, and the Scotch-Irish take those less fruitful? Different hints upon this subject may be found in Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania. Under the head of Lancaster County he says that a number of Scotch-Irish, in consequence of the limestone land being liable to frost and heavily wooded, seated themselves (1763) along the northern line of the counties of Chester and Lancaster.

A gentleman of Marietta, in this county, has said to me nearly as follows: "Ninety in one hundred of the regular members of the Mennonite churches are farmers, and they follow the limestone land as the needle follows the pole."

‡ The Pequea Creek (pronounced Peck'way) waters some of the finest land in the county, if not the very finest. "The

About seven years after this, William Penn died in England, in the year 1718.

Whether the persecution of the Baptists continued in Switzerland, and had begun in the Palatinate, I am not able to say, further than to offer the following passage, taken from Herzog's *Cyclopædia*:

“When the Baptists were oppressed in Switzerland and the Palatinate, the Mennonites united into one community with the Palatines, at Groningen (Holland), and established in 1726 a fund for the needy abroad, to which Baptists of all parties richly contributed. About eighty years after, this fund was discontinued, being no longer thought necessary.”

Thus active persecution of the Baptists in those regions had ceased, as it seems, about the year 1800.

The German or Swiss colony in Lancaster County is said to have caused some alarm, though we can hardly believe it a real fear. Nine years after the death of William Penn, representation was made to Lieutenant-Governor Gordon (1727) that “a large number of Germans, peculiar in their dress, religion, and notions of political government, had settled on Pequea, and were determined not to obey the lawful authority of

---

Piquaws had their wigwams scattered along the banks of the Pequea.”



government; that they had resolved to speak their own language, and to acknowledge no sovereign but the great Creator of the universe."

Rupp, from whom I quote the above passage, adds, "There was perhaps never a people who felt less disposed to disobey the lawful authority of government than the Mennonites, against whom these charges were made."

The charges were doubtless dropped, or answered in a satisfactory manner; for two years subsequently, or in 1729, a naturalization act was passed concerning certain Germans who had come into the province between the years 1700 and 1718.

Over one hundred persons are naturalized by this act (Martin Meylin, Hans Graaf, etc.); and a great part of the people of the county can find their surnames mentioned therein.\* All the names, however, are not necessarily those of Baptist families.

Nearly to the same date as this naturalization

---

\* Not always as at present spelled. The present Kendig appears as Kindeck, Breneman as Preniman, Baumgardner as Bumgarner, Eby as Abye. These were probably English efforts at spelling German names. Rupp says that he was indebted to Abraham Meylin, of West Lampeter Township, for a copy of the act. There appear to have been among the Palatines who came into our county some Huguenot families; but, from intermarrying with the Germans, and speaking the dialect, they are considered "Dutch." The name of the Bushong family is said to have once been Beauchamp.



act belongs a letter written from Philadelphia, in 1730, by the Rev. Jedediah Andrews.

Mr. Andrews says, in substance, "There are in this province a vast number of Palatines; those that have come of late years are mostly Reformed. The first-comers, though called Palatines, are mostly Switzers, many of whom are wealthy, having got the best land in the province. They live sixty or seventy miles off, but come frequently to town with their wagons laden with skins belonging to the Indian traders, with butter, flour, etc."\*

Mr. Andrews, in his letter, while speaking of the Switzers, continues :

"There are many Lutherans and some Reformed mixed among them. . . . Though there be so many sorts of religion going on, we don't quarrel about it. We not only live peaceably, but seem to love one another."

This harmony among the multitudinous sects in Pennsylvania must have been the more remarkable to Mr. Andrews, from his having been born and educated in Massachusetts, where a

---

\* This mention of the Switzers' wagons reminds me of the great Conestoga wagons, which, before the construction of railroads, conveyed the produce of the interior to Philadelphia. With their long bodies roofed with white canvas, they went along almost, I might say, like moving houses. They were drawn by six powerful horses, at times furnished with trappings and bells ; and the wagoner's trade was one of importance.

very different state of affairs had prevailed ; and on this subject Rupp says: "The descendants of the Puritans boast that their ancestors fled from persecution, willing to encounter perils in the wilderness, and perils by the heathen, rather than be deprived of the free exercise of their religion.

"The descendants of the Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster County claim that while their ancestors sought for the same liberty, they did not persecute others who differed from them in religious opinion."\*

The letter of Mr. Andrews, above quoted, bears date 1730. Twelve years after, or in 1742, a respectable number of the Amish (pronounced Ommish) of Lancaster County petitioned the General Assembly that a special law of naturalization might be passed for their benefit. They stated that they had emigrated from Europe by an invitation from the proprietaries ; that they had been brought up in and were attached to the Amish doctrine, and were conscientiously scrupulous against taking oaths ; "they therefore cannot be naturalized agreeably to the existing law." An act was passed in conformity to their

---

\* A test-oath, or oath of abjuration, seems to have been in force at one time in Pennsylvania, concerning the Roman Catholics. (See Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon.) Must we not attribute this act to the royal home government rather than to William Penn ?

request. (I give this statement as I find it, although somewhat surprised if the laws of Pennsylvania did not always allow those to affirm who were conscientiously opposed to oaths.)

The history of our Swiss Exiles is nearly finished. It is chiefly when a nation is in adversity that its history is interesting to us. What is there to tell of a well-to-do farming population, who do not participate in battles, and who live almost entirely secluded from public affairs?\*

Under the date 1754, it is noted that Governor Pownall, traveling in Lancaster County, says, "I saw the finest farm one can possibly conceive, in the highest culture; it belongs to a Switzer." Thus Gray's lines (slightly altered) may be said to comprise most of the external history of these people for a century and a half:

Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,  
 Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe hath broke;  
 How early did they drive their team a-field,  
 How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke!

Some difficulty had arisen, however, between

---

\* "I fear this volume will be deemed a heap of dry records, without a sufficient number of anecdotes to give them a relish; this is owing to the peace and liberty which the Baptists have ever enjoyed in Pennsylvania. In other provinces they have had their troubles, which will make their history interesting to every reader."—MORGAN EDWARDS: Advertisement [or preface] to "Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, both British and German." 1770.

the Germans of our county and the "Scotch-Irish." Thus, Day, in his Historical Collections, says, "The Presbyterians from the north of Ireland came in at about the same time with the Germans, and occupied the townships of Donegal and Paxton." (Paxton, now Dauphin County.) "Collisions afterwards occurring between them and the Germans, concerning elections, bearing of arms, the treatment of the Indians, etc., the proprietaries instructed their agents in 1755 that the Germans should be encouraged, and in a manner directed to settle along the southern boundary of the province, in Lancaster and York Counties, while the Irish were to be located nearer to the Kittatinny Mountain, in the region now forming Dauphin and Cumberland Counties.\*

In the Revolutionary war, the German Menonites did not early espouse the cause of independence. Some of them doubtless felt bound by their promise of loyalty to the established government, while others were perhaps influenced by the motive lately attributed to them in the correspondence of one of our county papers (*Examiner and Herald*, Lancaster, October 27th, 1869). The writer tells us that Lancaster County

---

\* It was not long after this date (in 1763) that the "Paxton Boys" made a raid down to Lancaster and massacred the remnant of Conestoga Indians, in the jail of that town. Day says that there was policy in the order above given; that the Irish were warlike, and could defend the frontier.

was settled principally by Mennonites, etc., who are strict non-resistants. They were peculiarly solicitous to manifest their loyalty to the powers that be, because they had been accused by their enemies of having been implicated in rebellion during the unhappy events at Münster, Germany, in 1535.

“When our Revolutionary struggle began, these people were cautious in resisting the established government.”\*

During the late rebellion, although very few of our Mennonites bore arms, yet some were active in raising funds to pay bounties to persons who did enlist.

It appears to the writer that there can scarcely be a people in our country among whom the ancient practices are more faithfully maintained than among the Amish of Lancaster County.†

Notwithstanding the great falling off from ancient principles and practices which we read of among Holland Mennonites (see Herzog’s *Cyclopædia* and the *Encyclopædia Americana*),

---

\* One motive operating upon the minds of some of them may have been an oath or promise of allegiance to the king.

† The Amish seem to have originated in Europe, about the year 1700, when Jacob Amen, a Swiss preacher, set up, or returned to, the more severe rule, distasteful to brethren in Alsace, etc., and enforced the ban of excommunication upon some or all of those who disagreed with him. A small pamphlet upon this subject has been published at Elkhart, Indiana, and is for sale at the office of the *Herald of Truth*.

it seems that there are yet left in Europe others of the stricter rule. In Friesland, Holland, where the Mennonites are divided, as here, into three classes, there are found, by comparison, most traces of the old Mennonism.\*

And we have lately heard of Amish in France. A letter from that country, published in the *Herald of Truth* (Elkhart, Indiana, July, 1871) alludes to the late European war. The writer says, "The loss we here sustained is indescribable. Many houses have been entirely shattered to pieces by the cannon-balls, and others totally destroyed by fire." He adds, "As you desire to know what kind of Mennonites there are residing here in France, I will briefly state that most of them are Amish Mennonites." He signs himself Isaac Rich, Etupes, par Audincourt, Doubs, France. This locality, as I understand, is not far from Switzerland and Alsace.

The church history of our Mennonites has not been entirely uneventful. Rupp tells us that they were very numerous about the year 1792, and that Martin Boehm and others made inroads upon them. A considerable number seceded and joined the United Brethren, or *Vereinigte Brüder*.

A society of Dunkers was formed near the Susquehanna, many years ago, by Jacob Engle, who had been a Mennonite. This society is

---

\* See Herzog.

called "The River Brethren," and from it has been formed the society of "Brinser Brethren," popularly so called.

The Rev. John Herr is generally considered the founder of a sect popularly called "New Mennists." They call themselves, however, "Reformed Mennonites," and claim that they have only returned to the ancient purity of doctrine.

In Montgomery County, in 1873, I find the term New Mennonites applied to another sect, while those of whom I have just spoken are called "*Herrelite*,"\* or followers of Herr. The former are followers or friends of a preacher named Overholtzer,—a man who refused to put on a coat of a peculiar cut when he became a preacher.

In, or near, the same part of our State, certain Mennonites have left the society, desiring to "defend their country," and to join oath-bound societies. They call themselves Trinity Christians.

How far the "*Albrechtsleut*," or "Dutch Methodists,"—the Evangelical Association, as they call themselves,—have made converts among the Mennonites, I cannot tell.

Mr. Rupp, whose history of Lancaster County is as yet the standard, speaks of the Mennonites as the prevailing religious denomination in 1843, having about forty-five ministers preaching in German, and over thirty-five meeting-houses.

---

\* The German word *lente*, people, is here pronounced *lite*.



The Amish meet in private houses.

Although I have never heard that our Menonites as a religious body passed any rules forbidding slaveholding, as did the Quakers, yet they are in sentiment strongly anti-slavery, having great faith in those who are willing to labor with their own hands.

Of this strong anti-slavery sentiment I offer convincing proof in the votes by which they supported in Congress our late highly distinguished representative, Thaddeus Stevens.\*

---

\* Traditionary stories exist in our county concerning the Swiss origin, etc., of certain families. I have heard one concerning the Engles, and one of the Stauffers. A member of the Johns family has also told me of their Swiss origin, and of their name being formerly written Tschantz.

It is probable that other traditionary stories concerning Swiss families could now be collected, if some one would exert himself to do it before their custodians "fall asleep."

But let those who gather these stories beware of the "fine writer," lest he add what he considers embellishments, and make the narratives improbable.

The Stauffer traditions were mentioned to me by a venerable member of the family, one who has kindly lent me his aid and sympathy in some of my records of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

John Stauffer is now a great-grandfather, and he calculates that it was, at the nearest, his own great great-grandfather who, with his mother and his three brothers, came to this country, his ancestors being of Swiss origin. "The mother," says my neighbor (in substance), "weighed three hundred, and the sons made a wagon, all of wood, and drawed her to the Rhine. When they got to Philadelphia, they put their



In the *Columbian Magazine* for January, 1789, appears an "Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania." The writer would properly have included Friends in the following passage:

---

mother into the wagon and drew her up here to Warwick township. There they settled on a pretty spring; that is what our people like."

The reader of this little story may remember the "pious Æneas," who "from the flames of Troy, upon his shoulders," the old Anchises bore.

The tradition of the Engle family was narrated to me by two of its members.

Mr. Henry M. Engle has felt some difficulty in reconciling the tradition with the fact of the family's having been in this country only about one hundred years, and with his idea that the Swiss persecution must have ceased before that period.

But we have seen that some Baptist families tarried in the Palatinate, etc., before coming here, and a circumstance like the imprisonment of one of their women would be remembered among them for a long time.

Tradition says that it was the grandmother's mother or grandmother of Henry M. Engle and Jacob M. Engle who was a prisoner in Switzerland for her faith. The turnkey's wife is said to have sympathized with the prisoner, because she knew that Annie had children at home. So she said to her, in the Swiss dialect, "Annie, if I were you, I would go away once." ("Annie, wann i die wär, i det mohl geh."—"Annie, wenn ich dich wäre, ich thut einmal gehen.")

She therefore set Annie to washing clothes, and, turning her back upon her, gave her opportunity to escape.

Annie's husband was not a Baptist; nevertheless, he was so friendly as to prepare a hiding-place for her, into which she could go down, if the persecutors came, by means of a trap-door; and she was never taken prisoner again.

"Perhaps those German sects of Christians among us, who refuse to bear arms for the purpose of shedding human blood, may be preserved by Divine Providence, as the centre of a circle which shall gradually embrace all the nations of the earth in a perpetual treaty of friendship and peace."

---

Since the former edition of this book was prepared, the public attention has been much attracted to a great body of Russian Mennonites who propose, as it is said, to come to this country, rather than to perform military duty in Russia; some of these are of Swiss origin.\*

One of my neighbors had before spoken to me in very favorable terms of Russian Mennonites, but it did not seem probable that such a body of people were to be found in that empire, and I paid but little attention to the subject.

---

\* The *Herald of Truth*, a Mennonite paper of this country, under the date of July, 1873, contains a "Letter of Authority," beginning, "We, the Bishops and Directors of the entire body of the Swiss Mennonites in the colonies of Kotusufka, in the district (county or canton) of Schitomir, state of Volkinien, Russia."

This Letter of Authority concerns the proposed migration above alluded to. Of the six names signed thereto, one at least appears to belong also to this county of Lancaster, where it is now sometimes written Graybill; in the Russian letter Krehbiehl. A similar name is found among the Schwenckfelders, who were of Silesian origin.

The account which seems to me most valuable, among the recent numerous newspaper items concerning them, is contained in a St. Petersburg letter in the *New York Tribune* of May 11th, 1872.

The writer tells us that about the time of Menno's death there was a large emigration of his flock to East Prussia, where their Dutch neatness and industry soon made those desolate and swampy regions to flourish like a garden. In 1730 and 1732 they were threatened with expatriation for refusing to serve in the army; but the storm passed by, and other colonists came in. Arbitrary measures, however, were still taken from time to time, and in 1789 they were forbidden to purchase landed property.

Catherine II., of Russia, while inviting German colonists, also invited these, and, before the year 1800 about three hundred and fifty families of Mennonites had entered Russia, and settled on the lower Dnieper. They came on condition of receiving freedom of worship, "the administration of oaths in their own way" (the writer does not appear to understand their objection to swearing at all), and exemption forever from military service. They were also to receive one hundred and ninety acres of land for each family, money for their journey, etc.

The privileges were confirmed by the Emperor Paul, and extended to all coming after; and although the laws of Prussia had been altered,

there was a continued migration of Mennonites to Russia until 1817. These settled near their brethren, and not far from the town of Berdiansk.

The Mennonites have prospered until they number about forty thousand. They settled on a waste steppe, where the land was rich enough, but suffered much from want of water. They irrigated, and raised agriculture to a higher point than anywhere else in Russia. They had no wood, and they planted trees. The introduction of tree culture on the steppes is entirely owing to them. They have not only large orchards, but productive forest-trees, and plantations of mulberry-trees, by means of which they produce silk. They are also large raisers of stock.

Although originally agriculturists, they have endeavored to supply their own wants in manufactured articles, and in 1854 they had in activity three hundred and fifty mills and factories, including cloth-mills, water- and grist-mills, dyeing and printing works, breweries, distilleries, silk-spinneries, brick and tile works, potteries, etc., and in their villages there were men exercising nearly every known trade.

There is no drunkenness or gambling among them. Crime is exceedingly rare. Besides all this, they are educated. Every child knows how to read and write; and in every village there is a school.

Up to this time they have been loyal subjects to Russia. During the Crimean war they sent large gifts of grain and provender to the besieged army. It is only because the privileges granted to them are infringed, and they will be compelled to enter the army against their conscience, that they now wish to emigrate.

Their success in tree culture on an arid steppe points naturally to the Western prairies as their future home. In their petitions to the American and British governments they asked whether they could obtain land free, or at low prices, for their whole colony; whether they could have exemption for themselves and their descendants from military service of every kind; and whether the government would advance them any money to defray their traveling expenses. Though the colony is prosperous, and some of the members rich, yet there are some who either have no land, or have so little property that a forced sale would leave them almost destitute.\*

In addition to the above from the *New York Tribune*, I have found an extract concerning the

---

\* Recent papers mention that the steamer *Hansa* has brought out about four hundred emigrants at one voyage, with over \$400,000, apparently all in gold; and the *Hammonia* one hundred and ten men, women, and children, with \$340,000. On the other hand, the *Herald of Truth* contains an appeal from certain Swiss Mennonites in Russia, already referred to, asking their brethren, in case our government does not furnish means

Mennonites of South Russia, from *The Friend* (London), in which it is stated that a deputation was sent to St. Petersburg in hopes of changing the purpose of the government, but only obtained a delay of ten years, which expires in 1881, and also the option of hospital and other non-fighting military service in place of actual soldiership. Many deputations have since followed. The last attempt was by a company of "eldest persons" to the emperor, while he was staying at his country palace in the Crimea. We learn "the emperor did not accept an audience, but kind words by others were spoken plenty." Extracts follow from an original letter, perserving the quaint English: "We greatly see the need of leaving Russia, not only because of military service, but also of the curtailing of religious and other liberties, which clearly shows an intention on the part of the government to take this and our language from us. Formerly, the administration of all laws connected with the colonies was in the hands of the colonists themselves; now they are mixed up with the Russian peasants. The Russ language, hitherto not,

---

of transportation, to lend them money to bring them here, (or perhaps to bring their poorer members,) binding themselves to repay the money "with the most heartfelt gratitude." The editor of the same paper says that this will require from six to eight thousand dollars,—and that they bind themselves as soon as possible either to work out the amount or pay it.

or little, wanted, is introduced into the schools, and Russian teachers are given to those schools. *Prisons like as in the Russian villages are by laws commanded to build; before, not at all wanted.\**”

But while the Russian Mennonites are thus preparing to emigrate, it is stated that in Prussia there are only a few churches that are not willing to submit to the new military law.

The editor of the *Herald of Truth* (Elkhart, Indiana) speaks to the Russians nearly as follows:† “I believe I understand the sad dilemma

\* See *Friends' Review*, Phila., 2d mo., 15th, 1873. I have taken the liberty of emphasizing the last sentence above. Different committees of the Russian Mennonists appear to have visited various parts of our western country, from Texas to Minnesota and Dakota, and to Manitoba in British America. Some of their people have settled as I understand in Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota. The *St. Paul Dispatch* says that it is probable that 25,000 will come next year.

† The following, extracted from the letter of a young girl (appearing in the same paper), is simple and not without interest.

BERDIANSK, January 19th, 1873.

DEAR BROTHER HENRY,—We also read the *Herald of Truth* here in this distant land, at the Sea of Azov, in Berdiansk, and seeing therein that you write to little children such as I am, I also desired to write to you.

Our family consists of papa, mamma, Aunt Anna, and my five brothers and sisters, Margaret, Peter, Anna, John, Henry, and myself, Helene, twelve years old. We also understand some English, and read every day from the English New Testament, that we may not entirely forget it, as we also intend to go to America. We may, perhaps, once see you there. Dear brother Henry, you write in your letter to little Jacob-

in which you are placed. You have homes, the result of honest toil; you love and cherish them; there is a long journey to make into a strange land; it will cost you a great many anxieties and trials; all these things seem almost impossible for you to accomplish, and yet you cherish the principles of your church, you want to abide in the faith of your fathers.

"In the country where you now are you are called to do that which we believe Jesus, the Prince of Peace, forbids. Now here is a dilemma. It will be for you to choose. Shall we stay,—and yield the principles of our religion? or shall we do as the Saviour said, 'If they persecute you in one city, flee into another'?"

---

ine Kaufman that you pray for her, and as I also wish to correspond with you, I believe that you will do the same for me, and I shall for you.

I pray you, dear brother Henry, write me also a letter some time in the *Herald*.

Sincerely yours,

HELENE JANZEN.



## THE DUNKER LOVE-FEAST.

---

ON the morning of the 25th of September, 1871, I took the cars of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad for the borough of Mount Joy, in the northwest part of this county of Lancaster. Finding no public conveyance thence to the village of C., I obtained from my landlord a horse and buggy and an obliging driver, who took me four or five miles, for two dollars. We took a drive round by the new Dunker meeting-house, which is a neat frame building,—brown, picked out with white window-frames. Behind it is a wood, upon which the church-doors open, instead of upon the highway.

We heard here that the meeting would not begin till one o'clock on the next day. Some of the brethren were at the church, however, with their teams, having brought provisions, straw, and bedding. We went into the neat meeting-room, and above into the garret, where straw was being laid down. A partition ran down the middle, and upon the women's side a small room

had also been divided from the rest, wherein were one or two bedsteads and the inevitable cradle. The basement had a hard earthen floor, and was divided into dining-room, kitchen, and cellar. Upon spacious shelves in the cellar a brother and sister were placing the food. Many large loaves of bread were there. The sister was taking pies from a great basket, and bright coffee-pots stood upon the kitchen-table.

All here seemed to speak "Dutch," but several talked English with me. They seemed surprised that I had come so far as twenty-three miles in order to attend the meeting. One remarked that it was no member that had put the notice of the meeting which I had seen, into the paper. Others, however, seemed interested, although by my dress it was very plain that I was not of the brotherhood.

I found C. a neat place of about a dozen houses, and we drove to the only tavern. The landlady was young and pleasant, but she could speak little English. She was quite sociable, however, and thought that she could teach me *Dutch* and I her English. By means of some German on my part, we got along tolerably together. She took me to a good chamber, and began removing from it some of their best clothing. Showing me two sun-bonnets, one of them made of black silk, she said, "It is the fashion." "The fashion?" said I. "Yes; the

fashion for married women." This was, doubtless, the Dunker influence even among those not members.

Being at leisure in the afternoon, I walked to an ancient Moravian church in the neighborhood, with the landlady's little daughter,—a pretty child.

Her mother said, "Geh mit der aunty:" so she went with her adopted relative.

"Do you speak English?" I said to the little one.

"Na!" she answered.

"Hast du ein Bruder?" (Have you a brother?) I continued.

"Na!" she replied, in the dialect.

"Wie alt bist du?" (How old are you?) I said afterward.\*

"Vaze es net." (I don't know.)

Conversation flagged.

I found the church a small log building that had been covered with boards. Many of the tombstones were in the Moravian fashion, such as I had seen at Litiz,—small square slabs, lying flat in the grass; and some were numbered at the top of the inscription. One of these is said to be one hundred and twenty years old. But the Herrnhüter (as my landlady said) are all

---

\* Our "Dutch"—all of them, I believe—use the singular pronoun "du," *thou*.

gone, and another society holds meetings in the lowly church.

Although my little guide of six years could not speak English, she was not wanting in good sense. As I was trying to secure the graveyard gate, holding it with one hand, and stooping to roll up the stone that served to keep it fast, the little one, too, put out her hand, unbidden, to hold the gate. I thought that there were some English children that would not have been so helpful, and reflected, as I walked along, upon *unspoken language*, if I may use the expression.

The landlady had a plentiful supper after we returned. I was the only guest, and, as is usual here, the maid sat down with us. We had fried beef, sweet potatoes, pie, very nice apple-butter, canned peaches, barley-coffee, brown sugar, etc. The charge for board was at the rate of one dollar per day.

In the evening I heard my hostess up-stairs preparing my bed, as I supposed. My surprise was therefore considerable, on turning down the woolen coverlet, to find no sheets upon the feather bed. On lifting this light and downy bed, which was neatly covered with white, I found one sheet, a straw bed, and then a bed-cord in the place of a sacking-bottom. I at once perceived that the feather bed was a feather cover, of which I had often heard, but had never met with one before during my sojourn in Penn-

sylvania "Dutchland." I should think that this downy covering might be pleasant in cold weather, but now I rolled it off upon the floor, and, with the help of a spare comfortable, was soon at rest. The pillow-cases, which were trimmed with edging, were marked with black silk, in a large running-hand, in this manner: "Henry G. Kreider, 1864."

As I sat the next morning awhile with the landlady in her basement kitchen, she remarked, "Here is it as Dutch as Dutchlant." But she said that my Dutch was not like theirs. The neighborhood, however, is not nearly so German as Germany. I was told by an intelligent young man that half the grown men did not speak English: I understand by this, not that they do not speak our language at all, but not habitually and with fluency. Many speak English very well, but the "Dutch" accent is universal. For several years the school-books in the township have all been English. I laughed with the landlady, who herself seemed somewhat amused, at the children having English books and speaking Dutch, or, as she would say, "Die Kinner lerne Englisch und schwetze Deitsch." However, at the Dunker church a pretty girl told me afterward that she had had no difficulty at school the preceding winter, although "we always talk German at home."

At breakfast this morning, among other dishes,

we had raisin-pie. Not a great while after this meal was over, the morning having proved wet, a neighbor took me over to the church in his buggy for twenty-five cents. Although the hour was so early, and meeting was fixed to begin at one, I found a considerable number here, which did not surprise me, as I knew the early habits of our "Dutch" people. Taking a seat, I began to read a number of the *Living Age*, when a black-eyed maid before me, in Dunker dress, handed me her neatly-bound hymn-book, in English and German. I told her that I could read German, and when I read a verse in that language she said, "But you don't know what it means." Reading German is with us a much rarer accomplishment than speaking the dialect.

Ere long, a stranger came and sat down behind me, and entered into conversation. He was a preacher from a distance, named L., and spoke very good English. We soon found that we had mutual acquaintances in another county, and when dinner was ready he invited me down to partake.

Here the men sat upon one side, and the women on the other, of one of the long tables, upon which was laid a strip of white muslin. We had bowls without spoons, into which was poured by attendant brethren very hot coffee, containing milk or cream, but no sugar. We had the fine Lancaster County bread, good and abundant butter,

apple-butter, pickles, and pies. The provisions for these meals are contributed by the members at a previous meeting, where each tells what he intends to furnish, how many loaves of bread, etc., while some prefer to give money.\* Whatever food is left over after the four meals are finished is given to the poor, without distinction of sect; "whoever needs it most," as a sister said.

At this dinner, before eating, my new acquaintance, L., gave out, by two lines at a time, the verse,

"Eternal are thy mercies, Lord."

But few joined in the singing. They would doubtless have preferred German. In that language thanks were returned after eating.

When we went up into the meeting-room again, a young man of an interesting countenance, a preacher, named Z., asked me if I was not the one who had written an article which had lately appeared in one of our county papers. It was very gratifying to be thus recognized among strangers.

An elderly sister, who sat down by me and began to talk, was named Murphy. The name surprised me much, but it was not the only Irish one here. It is probable that some such persons

---

\* To furnish provisions would be natural to a people of whom about seventy-five in a hundred are farmers, as is the case with the Dunkers.

were taken into Dunker families, when young, to be brought up, and thus had been led to join the society.

Having observed that there was a good deal of labor to be performed here in waiting upon so many people, I asked Mrs. Murphy whether there were women hired. She told me, "There's a couple of women that's hired; but the members does a heap, too."

On another occasion, I made a remark to a friendly sister about the brethren's waiting upon the table, as they did. She answered that it was according to the Testament to help each other; the women cooked, and the men waited upon the table. She did not seem able to give the text. It may be, "Bear ye one another's burdens." I was amused that it should be so kindly applied to the brethren's helping the sisters.

Before meeting began in the afternoon, a lovely aged brother, with silvery hair and beard, and wearing a woolen coat nearly white, showed me how the seats were made, so that, by turning down the backs of some, tables could be formed for the Love-Feast. He told me that the Dunkers number about one hundred thousand,—that they have increased much in the West, but not in the Eastern States. To which I rejoined, smiling, "You Dutch folks do not like poor land, like much of that at the East."

"This is not good land," he said, "we have



improved it;" for I had left the rich limestone soil and had come to the gravelly land in the northern part of the county. But as regards Massachusetts, can it be that there is yet a trace of the ancient antagonism of the Puritans to the Baptists?

When meeting began, as brethren came in, I saw some of these bearded men kissing each other. These holy kisses, as will be seen hereafter, are frequent among the Dunkers, and, as the men shave only the upper lip, it seems strange to us who are unaccustomed to the sight and the sound. The oft-repeated kissing was to me, perhaps, the least agreeable part of the ceremonial.

The afternoon meeting became very crowded, and, as is usual among our "Dutch" people, a number of babies were in attendance. During the sessions their voices sometimes rose high, but the noise did not seem to affect those who were preaching or praying. They felt it perhaps like the wailing and sighing of the wind, which they regard not, and would rather bear the inconvenience of the children than to have the mothers stay away from meeting. This afternoon, during prayer, a little fellow behind me kept saying, "Want to go to pappy;" but if his father was among the brethren, he was on the other side of the house.

My new acquaintance, L., was the only preacher

here who spoke in English. All the other exercises, except a little singing, were in German or in our Pennsylvania dialect. This afternoon L. said, among many remarks more sectarian, or less broad, "Faith is swallowed up in sight; hope, in possession; but charity, or love, is eternal. It came from God, for God is love." The allusion here is to Paul's celebrated panegyric on charity; but how much more charming it is in the German version, "Faith, hope, love; but the greatest of these is love. Love suffereth long and is kind, is not puffed up," etc.

About the middle of the afternoon I perceived a speaker giving some directions, and I asked the women near me what he had said. One answered and said something about "Wahl halten für prediger," by which I perceived that the election for a preacher was now to take place. Both brethren and sisters were to vote; not to select from a certain set of candidates, however; but at random, among the congregation,—or *family*, as it is sometimes called, "for all ye are brethren."

In the room above-stairs were the bishop or elder and an assistant to receive the votes. This bishop we might call the father of this family, which has four preachers and as many meeting-houses. The bishop is always that preacher who is oldest in the ministry. Meeting is held by turns in the different houses, occurring only once

in six weeks in the large new house which we then occupied. These particulars, which I gathered in conversation, are, I believe, substantially correct.

During the interval of the election I sat and read, or looked out from my window at the young people, the gayly-dressed girls mostly grouped together. Some of these were, probably, relatives of the members, while others may have come for the ride and the fun, to see and to be seen,—meetings of this kind being great occasions in the country-side.

The young men stood around on the outside of these groups of girls, some holding their whips and twirling them, with the butts resting upon the ground. Of course the young girls were not conscious of the presence of the beaux.

On the back of the house, or rather the front,—for, as I have said, the main doors open upon the wood instead of upon the roadside,—were more young girls, and plain sisters and brethren.

I asked a nice-looking woman about the election, but she could not tell me, although she wore the plain cap. “Most of the women do around here,” she said, and added that Dunker women in meeting had offered to kiss her. “You know they greet each other with a kiss.”

After the brethren, the sisters were called up to vote. I laughed, in talking with some of the members, at the women’s being allowed to

vote, in contrast to the usual custom. Mrs. Murphy reckoned it would be different if the women should undertake to vote for Governor or President.

I said to some of the sisters, "Who do you think will be chosen?" But they pleasantly informed me that to talk upon this point was against their rules,—it was a matter for internal reflection.

After meeting was over next day, as the bishop was talking with a sister, I ventured to ask him whether a majority was necessary to elect a preacher, or only a plurality. He seemed quite willing to talk, displaying no clerical pride, and answered, "A majority," adding, "Do you speak German?" I feared that I could not readily understand him on such a subject, and put the case to him thus in English: "Suppose one man has twenty votes, another fifteen, and another ten?" Then the bishop said that the one having twenty would be elected; whence it seems that a plurality only is required. On this occasion the vote was doubtless much divided, for I afterward heard that the bishop had said to the congregation that it seemed there were a good many there that were thought fit for preachers.

As sunset approached, some of the members began to form tables from the benches, for the Love-Feast, which made me wonder when supper was to be ready. I soon found, however,

that my ignorance of the language had prevented my observing that while the "family" voted the rest of the congregation were to sup. I was told, however, that if I would go down I could still get something to eat. These meals were free to every one that came. All were received, in the hope that they would obtain some spiritual good.

In the basement I found a number of men sitting at the end of one of the tables, waiting for food, and I also sat down near them. I was invited, however, by a sister to step into the kitchen, where I stood and partook of hot coffee, bread and butter, etc. As we went along through the dining-room, I thought that the sister cast a reproachful glance at a disorderly man seated at the table with his whip, and who was perhaps intoxicated. I wondered that she should have taken me from the table to stand in the kitchen, till I remembered that that was *a men's table*.

In the kitchen, brethren were busily occupied cutting large loaves of bread into quarters for the coming Love-Feast; and when I returned to the room above, active preparations were still going on, which consumed much time. The improvised tables were neatly covered with white cloths, and hanging lamps shed down light upon the scene. Piles of tin pans were placed upon the table, knives, forks, and spoons, and sometimes a bowl. The tables, with their seats, oc-

cupied nearly the whole floor of the church, leaving but little room for spectators. I was myself crowded into a corner, where the stairs came up from the basement and went up to the loft; but, though at times I was much pressed for room, I had an excellent place to observe, for I stood at the end of the main table. Here stood, too, a bright and social sister from a neighboring congregation, who did not partake of the feast, and was able and willing to explain the ceremonial to me, in English,—Mrs. R., as I will call her.

Near by at the table, among the older sisters, sat a pair who attracted a great deal of my attention—a young mother and her babe—herself so quiet, and such a quiet babe! They might have been photographed. Once or twice the little six-weeks' child gave a feeble young wail, and I saw the youthful mother modestly give it that nourishment which nature provides.

The brethren came up carrying tubs of meat, which smelt savory, for I had fasted from flesh since the morning. Then came great vessels of soup,—one of them a very large tin wash-boiler. The soup was taken out into the tin pans before mentioned, and the plates of meat were set upon the top, as if to keep both hot. And, now that "at long last" the Love-Feast tables were spread, the fasting family was ready to begin, not the supper, but the feet-washing! This was

the more remarkable, because the Testament, their rule of action, relates that, "supper being ended," Jesus washed the disciples' feet.

The bishop arose in his place at the table, and, lamp in one hand and book in the other, read in German the account of the feet-washing in John's gospel.

Four men who stood in front of him, watching his words, started when he said "*legte seine Kleider ab*" ("laid aside his garments"), and, in imitation of Jesus, took off their coats; and, as the Scripture says, "He took a towel and girded himself," they, or two of them, put on long white aprons, tied around the waist. Two washed feet and two wiped, and then he who was thus ministered unto was kissed by one or both of the ministering brethren. I was a little surprised that two should perform that office, which Jesus is said to have performed alone: but Mrs. R. told me that, as the church was one body, it was considered that it made no difference to have two persons.

The four who had ministered took their seats, and were served in their turn, four others taking their places, and so on. Upon the sisters' side of the house, on a front bench, the sisters were, in a similar manner, performing the same ordinance.

While the religious services of the evening were going on within, from without there came



the sound of voices and laughter,—from where the young people *of the world* were enjoying themselves in the clear, cool moonlight. I doubt not that, by this time, the girls had recognized the presence of the young men.

Once there was a shriek or a yell, and Mrs. R. said, "Oh, the drunken rowdies! there's always some of them here!"

Having heard of the non-resistant or *wehrlos* tenets of the Dunkers, I wondered what they would do should the disturbance without become very great and unpleasant. Mrs. Murphy thought that the other people would interfere in such a case,—that is, that those not members would interest themselves to maintain order. But on this point I afterward received information from a brother, as I shall mention. The services were so long that I told Mrs. R. I thought that the soup would be cold. "Oh, no!" she said, "that won't get cold so soon." So I ventured to put my finger against a pan near me, and it was yet warm. She asked me, during feet-washing, whether I did not think that I should feel happy to be there, partaking of that exercise.

I answered, in a non-committal manner, that if I had been brought up to such things, as she had been, I might feel so, but that all my friends and acquaintances were of a different mind. She rejoined, "But we must follow Christ, and serve God, in spite of the world." Even after



the feet were all washed, the fasting family could not yet eat, on account of the protracted exhortations.

At length they broke their fast. From two to four persons, each with a spoon, ate together from one pan of soup, very quietly, fifty feeding like one, so to speak, the absence of sound proceeding in part perhaps from the absence of earthen plates. Then they cut from the meat and from the quarter-loaves, and partook of the butter, this being all the food. There was no salt nor any other condiment. The occasional bowl was for water. I suppose that most persons would think that there had been enough kissing of the kind; but about this time a young bishop, an assistant, stood up at the centre of the main table, and after some remarks shook hands with the sister upon his left and kissed the brother upon his right, and from brother to brother, and from sister to sister, the kiss went around the congregation.

The bishop, and this assistant, went around upon ours, the women's side, superintending this ceremony, as if to see that none failed in this expression of unity, and that it was conducted in an orderly manner. The last sister who has no one to kiss goes forward, and kisses the first one, with whom the bishop had shaken hands, thus completing the chain of unity. This was doubtless done before the Communion, and

showed that brotherly love existed among these brethren, fitting them to partake of the sacrament. I was also told that the latter half of the afternoon meeting had been for self-examination on the same subject.

About this time of the evening Mrs. R. told me that if I would go down I could get some of the soup, as there was plenty left. I was willing to partake, not having had a regular supper, and I got a bowl of good mutton-broth, containing rice or barley, etc.

After the Love-Feast, these "Old Brethren," as they are sometimes called, held the Communion. The bread and wine were placed upon the general or main table—being set before the bishops—and were covered with a white cloth.

Before the celebration of the ordinance there was read in German the passage of Scripture upon which it is founded; and also, as it seemed to me, the narrative of the crucifixion. The hymn now sung was an English one, and the only one in our language that was sung by the whole congregation during the two days' meeting. It was,

"Alas! and did my Saviour bleed?"

Meantime, the assistant bishop divided the bread, or cakes, which were unleavened and sweetened. He directed the members, while eating the bread, to reflect upon the sufferings

of the Saviour. His manner was devout and impressive. As he and Bishop D—— passed around among the women, distributing the bread, the former repeated several times, in a sonorous voice, these or similar words: “*Das Brod das wir brechen ist die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi.*” (“The bread that we break is the communion of the body of Christ.”)

The wine, which smelt strong, was the juice of the grape, and was made in the neighborhood. An aged bishop from another congregation made some observations, and while speaking marked the length of something upon his finger. Mrs. R. said that he was showing the size of the thorns in the crown. She added, “They are there yet.” I looked at her in much surprise, wondering whether she believed in the preservation of the actual thorns; whereupon she added, “They grow there still. Did you never read it in Bausman’s book on the Holy Land?—Bausman, the Reformed preacher.” The simplicity of the surroundings upon this occasion were, it seemed to me, in keeping with those of the original supper, at which sat the “carpenter’s Son” and the fishermen.

When meeting was over, as I did not see my escort to the public house, and as I had been told that I could stay here, I followed those who went above-stairs, and received a bolster made of a grain-bag filled with hay or straw. I shared

it with Mrs. Murphy. Our bed was composed of straw laid upon the floor, and covered, or nearly so, with pieces of domestic carpet. We had a coverlet to lay over us. I talked with some of the other women who lay beside us, and could not get to sleep immediately; but at last I slept so sweetly that it was not agreeable to be disturbed at four o'clock, when, by my reckoning, the sisters began to rise. When some of these had gone down, I should perhaps have slept again, had it not been for a continued talking upon the men's side of the partition, quite audible, as the partition only ran up to a distance of some feet, not nearly so high as the lofty ridge of the building. The voices appeared to be those of a young man and one or two boys, talking in the dialect. A woman near me laughed.

"What is it?" said I.

"It's too mean to tell," she answered.

I surmise that the Dunker brethren had gone down and left these youths. Although a baby was crying, I lay still until two girls in Dunker caps—one ten years old, the other twelve—came with a candle, looking at us, smiling, and making remarks, perhaps thinking that it was time for us to be up.

I asked the eldest what o'clock it was.

She did not know.

"What made you get up, then?"

“I got up when the others did.”

Then some one explained that there were a good many dishes left unwashed the evening before.

I was surprised to see such young persons members of the meeting, for I supposed that the Dunkers, like the Mennonites, are opposed to infant baptism. The former explained to me, however, that they thought such persons as these old enough to distinguish right from wrong. I was told, too, of one girl, still younger, who had insisted on *wearing the cap*. The Mennonites baptize persons as young as fifteen. Both sects seem to hold peculiar views upon original sin.

A Dunker preacher once said to me,—

“We believe that, after Adam, all were born in sin; but, after Christ, all were born without sin.”

And a Mennist neighbor says,—

“Children have no sin; the kingdom of heaven is of little children.”

I continued to lie still, looking at the rafters and roof, and speculating as to their being so clean, and clear of cobwebs, and whether they had been laboriously swept; and then, gathering my wardrobe together with some little trouble, I was at last ready to go down. As I went to a window, I saw Orion and Sirius, and the coming day.

Going down to wash at the pump, in the morning gloaming, while the landscape still lay in shade, I found two or three lads at the pump, and one of them pumped for me. I was so ignorant of pump-washing as to wonder why he pumped so small a stream, and to suspect that he was *making fun*; but thus it seems it is proper to do, to avoid wetting the sleeves.

Here I met a pretty young sister, from Cumberland County,—fat and fair,—whose acquaintance I had made the day before. Her cap was of lace, and not so plain as the rest. There was with her at the pump one of the world's people, a young girl in a blue dress.

"Is that your sister?" I asked.

"It's the daughter of the woman I live with," she replied. "I have no sister. I am hired with her mother."

To my inexperienced eye it was not easy to tell the rich Dunkers from the poor, when all wore so plain a dress. I was afterward much surprised on discovering that this pretty sister did not understand German. Another from Cumberland County told me that I ought to come to their meeting, which was nearly all English.

After washing I went up into the meeting-house, where the lamps were still burning. A few sisters were sitting here, and two little maidens were making a baby laugh and scream

by walking her back and forth along the empty benches. About sunrise the bishop had arrived, and a number of brethren ranged themselves upon the benches and began to sing. Before long, we, who had stayed over-night, had our breakfast, having cold meat at this and the succeeding meal. I think it was at breakfast that my pleasant friend with the silvery hair mentioned that there was still a store of bread and pies.

The great event of the morning meeting was the "making the preacher." At my usual seat, at a distant window, I was so busily occupied with my notes that I did not perceive what was going on at the preachers' table, until I saw a man and woman standing before the table with their backs to the rest of the congregation. I made my way to my former corner of observation, and found that there was another brother standing with them, (the sister in the middle,) and these were receiving the greetings of the family. The brethren came up, one by one, kissed one of the men, shook hands with the sister, and kissed the other man. This last was the newly-chosen preacher, the former brother, named Z., being a preacher who, by the consent of the members (also given yesterday), was now advanced one degree in the ministry, and was henceforth to have power to marry and to baptize. The sister was his wife. She is expected

to support her husband in the ministry, and to be ready to receive those women who, after baptism, come up from the water. This office and that of voting seem to be the only important ones held by women in this society. Herein they differ greatly from another plain sect,—Friends or Quakers, among whom women minister, transact business, etc.\*

After the brethren were done, the sisters came up, shook hands with Z., kissed his wife, and shook hands with the new preacher, whose wife, I believe, was not present.

---

\* A friend tells me that he once heard a discourse from a celebrated Dunker preacher, named Sarah Reiter. She was allowed to preach, it seems, by a liberal construction of Paul's celebrated edict, because she was unmarried. Even when afterward married, by a more liberal construction still, the liberty to preach was not forbidden her. Possibly it was assumed that her *husband at home* was not able to answer all her questions upon spiritual matters. She removed to Ohio.

In the *Encyclopædia Americana* the following are given as propositions of some of the former Anabaptists: "Impiety prevails everywhere. It is therefore necessary that a new family of holy persons should be founded, enjoying without distinction of sex the gift of prophecy, and skill to interpret divine revelations. Hence they need no learning, for the internal word is more than the outward expression."

At this time, however, while our German Baptists still believe in an unpaid, untaught ministry, none of them, I think, hold to the doctrine that the gift of prophecy or preaching is without distinction of sex. In this respect, George Fox seems to have agreed with the early Anabaptists just mentioned.



The bishop invited the sisters to come forward: "Koomet alle! alle die will. Koomet alle!"

While this salutation was in progress, L., who spoke in English, made some explanatory remarks. He told us that he had read or heard of two men traveling together, of whom one was a doctor of divinity. The latter asked the younger man what he was now doing. He replied that he was studying divinity. He had formerly been studying law, but on looking around he saw no opening in the law, so he was now studying divinity, which course or which change met the approval of the reverend doctor.

"Now," said L., "*we* do not approve of men-made preachers;" a striking remark in a congregation where a preacher had just been elected by a plurality. But he went on to explain that he trusted that there was no brother or sister who had voted for him who had just been chosen for this arm of the church, who had not prayed God earnestly that they might make such a choice as would be profitable in the church. He went on to explain that the newly-chosen preacher was now receiving from the congregation an expression of unity.

There were various other exercises this morning,—preaching, praying, and singing,—before the final adjournment. At the close we had dinner. I made an estimate of the number who partook of this meal as about five hundred and fifty.

One of the men guessed a thousand ; but we are prone to exaggerate numbers where our feelings are interested.

Before we parted, I had some conversation with certain brethren, principally upon the non-resistent doctrines of the society. In my own neighborhood, not a great while before, a Dunker had been robbed under peculiar circumstances. Several men had entered his house at night, and, binding him and other members of the family, had forced him to tell where his United States and other bonds were placed, and had carried off property worth four thousand dollars. The brother had gone in pursuit of them, visiting the mayor of our town, and the police in neighboring cities (without recovering his property). I asked these brethren at different times whether his course was in agreement with their rules. They answered that it was not.

On the present occasion I repeated the question as to what they would have done on the previous evening if the disturbance had risen to a great height. One of the brethren, in reply, quoted from the Acts of the Apostles, where it is narrated that forty Jews entered into a conspiracy to kill Paul. But Paul sent his nephew to the chief captain to inform him of the conspiracy. The captain then put Paul under the charge of soldiers, to be brought safe unto Felix the governor.

From this passage the Dunkers feel at liberty to appeal to the police for their protection; but only once: if protection be not then afforded them, they must do without it.

I further mentioned to these brethren a case which had been told to me some time before by a Dunker preacher, of a certain brother who had been sued in the settlement of an estate, and had received a writ from the sheriff. This writ was considered by the Dunkers as a call from the powers that be, to whom they are ordered to be subservient, and the brother therefore went with some brethren to the office of a lawyer, who furnished him with subpœnas to summon witnesses in his defence. But the Dunkers argued among themselves that for him to take these legal papers from his pocket would be to draw the sword. He therefore sent word to his friends, informally, to come to the office of a magistrate; and, the evidence being in his favor, he was released. "This," said my informant, "is the only lawsuit that I have known in our society since I joined the meeting," which was, I believe, a period of about seven years.

In repeating this narrative to the brethren at the Love-Feast, I learned that they are now at liberty to engage in defensive lawsuits. They have, as I understood one to say, no creed and no discipline, although I believe that a certain confession of faith is required. The New Testament,

or, as they say, the Testament, they elaim to be their creed and their discipline. There is also much independence in the congregations. But in some cases they have resort to a general council, and here it has been decided that a Dunker may defend himself in a lawsuit, but only once. Should an appeal be taken to another court, the Dunker can go no farther. This reminds me of Paul's question to the Corinthians, "Why do you not rather suffer loss than go to law?"\* Does it not seem hard to practice such non-resistance, to remain upright and open-minded, and at the same time to acquire much wealth?

The Dunkers do not like to be called by this name; their chosen title is Brethren.

---

The Love-Feast, above described, was held by the "Old Brethren," who originated in Germany about the year 1708.

It has been said that they originated among the Pietists; but a very great resemblance will be found among them to our German Baptists of the Mennonite or Anabaptist stock.

I afterward visited other Dunkers, belonging to a division called the "River Brethren." They originated near the Susquehanna River, but they have now spread as far as Ohio, if not farther.

---

\* See the questions in full,—I. Corinthians, chap. vi.

That these are of the old Baptist stock there is no doubt, as Jacob Engle, their founder, was of a Mennonite family,—a family which boasts that one of their ancestors was a prisoner in Switzerland on account of her faith. (See note, in “Swiss Exiles,” page 115.)

In coming to this country, about one hundred years ago, tradition tells us that the Engle family joined with thirty others, who were upon the same vessel, to remain bound together in life and in death. The young infants of these families all died upon the voyage, except Jacob Engle, whereupon an old nurse said, “God has preserved him for an especial purpose.” He became a preacher, and this his friends regarded as a fulfillment of the prophecy.

Jacob Engle, or “Yokely Engle,” as he was sometimes called, considered that there was not sufficient warmth and zeal among the Mennonites at that time. He became very zealous; experiencing, as he believed, a change of heart.

Before he became a preacher, some joined him in holding prayer-meetings. It was found that some wished to be baptized by immersion, and the rite was thus performed (whereas the Mennonites baptize by pouring).

A common observer would see very little difference between these Brethren and the Old Dunkers. The River Brethren allow all present to partake of the love-feast, or paschal supper. Some of them have said that the paschal supper is an expression of the love of God to all mankind, and love toward all men constrains them to invite all to partake thereof. But from the Lord’s Supper they exclude all strangers.

Their meetings are usually held in private houses, or, in summer, in barns.

Some of their preachers have been heard, upon rising to speak, to declare that they intend to say only what the Spirit teaches them.

One of their most striking peculiarities is their opposition to the use of lightning-rods. A preacher said to me, when talking upon this subject, "If God wishes to preserve the building, he can preserve it without the lightning-rod. If he does not wish to preserve it, I am willing to submit to the result." It has been thought that an acquaintance with the laws of electricity would remove this objection which they feel.

The Brinser Brethren were formed from the River Brethren some years ago. They are popularly thus called, from an able preacher named Matthias Brinser. They erect meeting-houses, in preference, as I understand, to meeting in private houses. Their church has not opposed electrical conductors, though some members feel conscientious in the matter.

The question of erecting meeting-houses seems to have caused considerable trouble among the River Brethren. A gentleman of our county remarked to me that the custom of meeting in private houses is traditional among our people, and dates from times of persecution.

## EPHRATA.

---

THIS quiet village in Lancaster County has been for over a century distinguished as the seat of a Protestant monastic institution, established by the Seventh-Day German Baptists about the year 1738.

Conrad Beissel, the founder of the cloister, was born in Germany, at Oberbach, in the Palatinate, in the year 1691. He was by trade a baker, but, after coming to this country, he worked at weaving with Peter Becker, the Dunker preacher, at Germantown.

He is said to have been a Presbyterian, which I interpret to mean a member of the German Reformed Church.

According to the inscription upon his tombstone, his "spiritual life" began in 1716, or eight years before he was baptized among the Dunkers.

This may be explained by an article written by the Rev. Christian Endress,\* who seems to

---

\* See Hazard's Register, vol. v. C. L. F. Endress, D.D., preached twelve years in Trinity (Lutheran) Church, Lancaster.

have studied the Ephrata community, in connection with their published writings, more than some others who have endeavored to describe this peculiar people.\*

Mr. Endress says, "The Tunkers trace their origin from the Pietists near Schwarzenau, in Germany."†

While they yet belonged among the Pietists, there was a society formed at Schwarzenau composed of eight persons, whose spiritual leader was Alexander Mack, a miller of Schriesheim.

The members of this little society are said to have been re-baptized (by immersion), because they considered their infant baptism as unavail-

---

\* I ought to state that to the learned Dr. Seidensticker, of Philadelphia, and to Mr. I. D. Rupp, I am indebted for assistance.

† A new movement in German theology arose in the second half of the seventeenth century, through Spener, the founder of Pietism. The central principle of Pietism was that Christianity was first of all life, and that the strongest proof of the truth of its doctrines was to be found in the religious experience of the believing subject. The principles of the Pietists were in the main shared by the Moravians. (See *American Cyclopædia*, article *German Theology*.) Compare this statement of the main principle of Pietism with this of the Anabaptists, whom the mass of our Dunkers so much resemble: "The opinions common to the Anabaptists are founded on the principle that Christ's kingdom on earth, or the church, is a visible society of pious and holy persons, with none of those institutions which human sagacity has devised for the ungodly." (See *American Cyclopædia*, article *Anabaptist*.)



ing, and to have first assumed the name of *Taeuffer*, or Baptists.\*

The Dunkers first appeared in America in 1719, when about twenty families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed to Germantown, Conestoga, and elsewhere.

Beissel was baptized among them in 1724, in Pequea Creek, a tributary of the Susquehanna. He lived for awhile at Mühlbach (or Mill Creek, —now in Lebanon County?). Some time after this baptism, or in 1728, he published a tract upon the Seventh Day as the true Sabbath. This tract caused a disturbance among the brethren at Mill Creek, and Beissel and some with him withdrew from the other Dunkers, and Beissel re-baptized those of his own society.†

Not long after, says Endress, Beissel, who had appointed several elders over his people, withdrew from them, and retired to live a solitary life in a cottage that had been built for a similar

---

\* They took for themselves the name of Brethren, says an article in Rupp's "Religious Denominations." The Dunkers in our county call themselves Brethren,—“Old Brethren,” “River Brethren,” etc. Whether the Ephrata Dunkers adopted the same name, I cannot say.

† Speaking of a certain Seventh-Day Baptist, an “Old Mennonite” writer says that he was “doubtless unaware that the Lord Christ is also Lord of the sabbath, and that in him no day, except for sake of common law, is to be observed above another.” See *Der Waffenlose Waechter*, or *Unarmed Watchman*, Jan. 1873.

purpose, and occupied by a brother called Elim-elech. This cottage stood near the place where the convent was afterward built. Here we infer that he lived for several years.

To live the life of cenobites or hermits, says Rupp, was in some measure peculiar to many of the Pietists who had fled from Germany to seek an asylum in Pennsylvania. "On the banks of the Wissahickon, near Philadelphia, several hermits had their cells, some of them men of fine talents and profound erudition."

Of some of these hermits, and of the monastic community afterward settled at Ephrata, it is probable that a ruling idea was the speedy coming of Christ to judge the world.

It is stated that after the formation of Beissel's "camp" midnight meetings were held, for some time, to await the coming of judgment.

Those who remember the Millerite, or Second Advent, excitement of the year 1843, can appreciate the effect that this idea would have upon the minds of the Dunkers, and how it could stimulate them to suffer many inconveniences for the brief season that they expected to tarry in the world.\*

---

\* In the time of the Millerite excitement above alluded to, many prepared ascension robes. One person whom I heard of went to the roof of his house, where, in his robe, he could look for the coming of Christ, and whence he was prepared

While Beissel was dwelling in his solitary cot, about the year 1730, two married women joined the society, of whom the Ephrata Chronicle tells us that they left their husbands and placed themselves under the lead of the director (or vorsteher, the title applied to Beissel in the "Chronicle"). He received them, although it was against the canon of the new society. One of these was Maria Christiana, the wife of Christopher Sower, he who afterward established the celebrated German printing-office at Germantown. She escaped in the year 1730, and was baptized the same fall. In the beginning, she dwelt alone in the desert, "and showed by her example that a manly spirit can dwell in a female creature."\*

While Beissel was still in his hermitage, discord and strife arose among the brethren of his society, news of which reached him by some means, for in the year 1733 he cited them to appear at his cottage.

---

immediately to ascend. More recently, namely, in August of 1873, I recollect meeting with a person who told me that he writes for Advent papers. He is himself a *Time-ist*, thinking that "the second coming of the Lord will take place this year."

\* "Afterward, she held to edification for many years, in the sister-convent, the office of a sub-prioress, under the name of Marcella. Finally, in her age, she was induced by her son to return to her husband—although another motive was the severe manner of life in the encampment, which she could no longer bear."—*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 45.

They met, and some of the single brethren agreed to build a second cottage near that occupied by their leader. Besides this, a house was also built for females, and in May, 1733, two single women retired into it.\*

In 1734, a third house for male brethren was built and occupied by the brothers Onesimus and Jotham, whose family name was Eckerlin.†

---

\* Are these the married women just spoken of, who had become single?

† These remarkable men seem to deserve especial notice. In Rupp's History of Lancaster County it is stated that they were from Germany, and had been brought up Catholics. Israel Eckerlin (Brother Onesimus) became prior of the brother-house at Ephrata. Peter Miller, in an original letter, complains that he obliged them to meddle with worldly things further than their obligations permitted; and that when money came in it was put out at interest, "contrary to our principles."

They could not, however, have been very rich, for when in 1745 a bell arrived in Philadelphia, from England, which had been ordered by Eckerlin, and which cost eighty pounds, they knew not how to pay for it. The name of Onesimus (or Eckerlin) had been placed upon the bell. When the news of its arrival was received, a council was held in the presence of the spiritual father, Beissel, and it was concluded to break the bell to pieces and bury it in the earth. The next morning, however, the father appeared in the council, and said that he had reflected that as the brothers were poor, the bell should be pardoned. It therefore was sold, and was placed upon the Lutheran church in Lancaster.

Miller says that the prior (Eckerlin) conceived a notion to

Soon after, says Endress, they all united in the building of a bake-house and a storehouse for the poor. And now the whole was called the camp (*das Lager*).

The early history of the society is quaintly narrated by Morgan Edwards, the Baptist historian. They had, he says, their existence as a society in 1724, when Conrad Beissel and six others were baptized in Pequea River by Rev. Peter Baker.

The same day these seven incorporated into a church, and chose Conrad Beissel to be their minister. After this they continued some time at Mill Creek, and then, removing about three miles northward, pitched on the land of Rudolph

---

make himself independent of Beissel, and was stripped of all his dignities.

The Eckerlins appear to have gone into the wilderness, and encamped on a creek flowing into the Monongahela, in Pennsylvania, to which stream they gave the name of Dunkard Creek, which it still bears. They afterward seem to have removed to Dunkards' Bottom, on Cheat River, which they made their permanent residence. After many vicissitudes, Miller tells us that Eckerlin and his brother were taken prisoners by Mohawks, and sold to Quebec, whence they were transported to France, "where, after our prior had received the tonsure and become a friar of their church, they both died." The Ephrata Chronicle says (chap. xxiii.) that the prior went *out of time* twenty years before Beissel. The latter died in 1768. By the former reckoning, the prior went out of time in 1748, or about three years after the difficulty about the bell at Ephrata.

Neagley, in Earl Township. Here they continued about seven years; and hither resorted many to see them, some of which joined the society. Here they began their economy, the men living by themselves on the fore-mentioned lands, and the women also by themselves on the adjoining lands of John Moyly.

Here Conrad Beissel appointed two elders and a matron to preside over his church in the wilderness, binding them by a solemn promise (and at the same time giving to each a Testament) to govern according to the rules of that book. Then he withdrew, and made as though they should see him no more. This was done in the year 1733. [1732.] He traveled northward till he came to the spot where Ephrata or Tunkerstown now stands, and with his hoe planted Indian corn and roots for his subsistence. But he had not been long in the place before the society found him out, and repaired to his little cot, the brethren settling with him on the west banks of Cocalico, and the sisters on the east, all in sight of one another, with the river running between them. The next year they set about building their village, beginning with a place of worship.

Endress tells us that about the time of the formation of the camp there was a revival in Falconer Swamp, in consequence of which many families took up land round about the camp, and

moved upon it. Another revival on the banks of the Schuylkill drove many more into the neighborhood; by it the sister establishment gained accessions; but only two, Drusilla and Basilla, remained steadfast. "A further revival in Tolpehoccon," 1735, brought many to the society. Hereupon they built a meeting-house, with rooms attached to it for the purpose of holding [preparing?] love-feasts, and called it Kedar. About the same time, a revival in Germantown sent additional brothers and sisters to the camp.

It was in 1735, during the revival at Tulpehocken, that Peter Miller was baptized\* or re-baptized. Miller, in one of his letters (see Hazard's Register, vol. xvi.), speaks of several persons who, as it appears, were baptized with him; namely, the schoolmaster, three *elderlings* (one of them Conrad Weyser), five families, and some single persons. This, he says, raised such a fermentation in that church (by which I suppose he means the Reformed Church, which they left), that a persecution might have followed had the magistrates consented with the generality.

Peter Miller, whom we are now quoting, was

---

\* The Tulpehocken Creek is a tributary of the Schuylkill, which rises in Lebanon County, and empties at Reading, in Berks County. It was, I suppose, within the limits of Lebanon County, with perhaps adjoining parts of Berks, that Miller preached.



one of the most remarkable men that joined the Ephrata Baptists. He was born in the Palatinate, and is said to have been educated at Heidelberg. He came to this country when about twenty years old. He is mentioned, it seems, in an interesting letter of the Rev. Jedediah Andrews, under date of Philadelphia, 1730, which letter may be found in Hazard's Register. He says that there are "in this province a vast number of Palatines. Those that have come of late years are mostly Presbyterian, or, as they call themselves, Reformed, the Palatines being about three-fifths of that sort of people."

Mr. Andrews says, in substance, "There is lately come over a Palatine candidate for the ministry, who applied to us at the Synod for ordination. He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. His name is John Peter Miller,\* and he speaks Latin as readily as we do our vernacular tongue."†

---

\* In Rupp's "Thirty Thousand Names" of immigrants to Pennsylvania, there will be found under date of August 29th, 1730, the names of Palatines with their families, imported in the ship *Thistle* of Glasgow, from Rotterdam, last from Cowes. Among these occurs Peter Müller, whom by a note Rupp connects with the Peter Miller of the text. As to the name John Peter, as given by Andrews, it is surprising to see how many of these immigrants bear the names of John, Hans, Johan, Johann, and Johannes, prefixed to other names. I count twenty in a column of thirty-four.

† Mr. Andrews, from whom I quote, was a graduate of



Peter Miller, in one of his letters, speaks of his baptism (or re-baptism) in the year 1735. He says at that time the solitary brethren and sisters lived dispersed "in the wilderness of Canestogues, each for himself, as hermits, and I following that same way did set up my hermitage in Dulpehakin [Tulpehocken], at the foot of a mountain, on a limpid spring; the house is still extant [1790], with an old orchard. There did I lay the foundation of solitary life.\*

"However," he continues, "I had not lived there half a year, when a great change happened; for a camp was laid out for all solitary persons, at the very spot where now Ephrata stands, and where at that same time the president [Beissel] lived with some hermits. And now, when all hermits were called in, I also quitted my solitude, and changed the same for a monastic life; which was judged to be more inservient to sanctification than the life of a hermit, where many under a pretence of holi-

---

Harvard, who seems to have come to Philadelphia in 1698, and to have preached in an Independent or Presbyterian church, or in both.

\* The Conestogas were a small tribe . . . consisting in all of some dozen or twenty families, who dwelt a few miles below Lancaster. They sent messengers with corn, venison, and skins, to welcome William Penn. When the whites began to settle around them, Penn assigned them a residence on the manor of Conestoga. (See Day's Historical Collections.)

ness did nothing but nourish their own selfishness. . . . We were now, by necessity, compelled to learn obedience. . . . At that time, works of charity hath been our chief occupation.\*

"Canestogues was then a great wilderness, and began to be settled by poor Germans, which desired our assistance in building houses for them; which not only kept us employed several summers in hard carpenter's-work, but also increased our poverty so much that we wanted even things necessary for life."

He also says, "When we settled here, our number was forty brethren, and about so many sisters,† all in the vigor and prime of their ages, never before wearied of social life, but were compelled, . . . with reluctance of our nature, to select this life."‡

---

\* When this letter was written, Miller was about eighty years old. He doubtless spoke German during the sixty years that he lived at Ephrata, as well as before that time. It will be observed that he does not write English elegantly.

† In the year 1740, says Fahnestock, there were thirty-six single brethren in the cloisters, and thirty-five sisters; and at one time the society, including the members living in the neighborhood, numbered nearly three hundred.

‡ Rev. C. Endress says that some were anxious to retain the solitary life, and some (it appears) were opposed to giving to Beissel the title of Father. Sangmeister left the society and retired to Virginia (whence however he returned to Ephrata). "His book," says the same writer, "is much tainted with bit-

It was, it seems, about the same time that Miller was baptized that the midnight meetings were held at the camp, "for the purpose of awaiting the coming of judgment."

Not long after the building of the meeting-house called Kedar (says Endress), a widower, Sigmund Lambert, having joined the camp, built out of his own means an addition to the meeting-house and a dwelling for Beissel. Another gave all his property to the society, and now Kedar was transformed into a sister-convent, and a new meeting-house was erected.

Soon after 1738, a large house for the brethren was built, called Zion, and the whole camp was named Ephrata.\* The solitary life was changed into the conventual one; Zion was called a kloster, or convent, and put under monastic rules. Onesimus (Eckerlin) was appointed prior, and Conrad Beissel named father.†

It was probably about this time, or earlier, that the constable entered the camp, according to Miller, and demanded the single man's tax.

---

terness, and undertakes to cast a dark shade upon the whole establishment."

\* Larger accommodations were afterward built in the meadow below; a sister-house, called Saron, a brother-house, named Bethania, etc. Most of these are still standing, I believe, in 1872; but the former buildings on the hill long since disappeared.

† His general title appears to be *vorsteher*, superintendent or principal.

Some paid, but some refused. Miller says that some claimed personal immunity on the ground that they were not inferior to the monks and hermits in the Eastern country, who supplied the prisons in Alexandria with bread, and who were declared free of taxes by Theodosius the Great and other emperors. But these Ephrata brethren were not to be thus exempted. Six lay in prison at Lancaster ten days, when they were released on bail of a "venerable old justice of peace." When the brethren appeared before the board of assessment, the gentlemen who were their judges saw six men who in the prime of their ages had been reduced to skeletons by penitential works. The gentlemen granted them their freedom on condition that they should be taxed as one family for their real estate, "which is still in force (1790), although these things happened fifty years ago." (See Miller's letters in Hazard's Register.)

A monastic dress was adopted by the brethren and sisters, resembling that of the Capuchins.\*

---

\* The Ephrata Chronicle speaks nearly in this manner of that of the sisters:

Their dress was ordered, like that of the brethren, so that little was to be seen of the disagreeable human figure (*von dem verdriesslichen Bild das durch die Sünd ist offenbar worden*). They wore caps like the brethren, but not pointed ones. While at work, these caps or cowls hung down their backs; but when they saw anybody, they drew them over

The Chronicle, published in 1786, speaks of the sisters as having carefully maintained the dress of the order for nearly fifty years. About the same date we read of Miller in his cowl.

It appears from the Chronicle that the other members of the society at one time adopted a similar dress, but that the celibates (*die Einsamen*) appeared at worship, in white dresses, and the other members (*die Hausstände*) in gray ones. The secular members, however, "saddled themselves again" and conformed to the world in clothing and in other things.

In an article upon Ephrata in Hazard's Register, vol. v., 1830, will be found the statement that, thirty or forty years before, the Dunkers were occasionally noticed in Philadelphia (when they came down with produce), with long beards and Capuchin habiliments; but this statement does not seem to agree in date with that of the Chronicle, if these were secular brethren.

Among the austerities practiced at Ephrata formerly, was sleeping upon a bench with a block of wood for a pillow.\*

---

their heads, so that but little could be seen of their faces. But the principal token of their spiritual betrothal was a great veil, which in front covered them altogether, and behind down to the girdle. Roman Catholics who saw this garment said that it resembled the habit of the scapular.

\* The Chronicle tells us that once, in Beissel's absence, a costly feather bed was brought into his sleeping-room. He

A recent writer, Dr. William Fahnestock, tells us that these and other austerities were not intended for penance, but were undertaken from economy. Their circumstances were very restricted, and their undertaking was great. They studied the strictest simplicity and economy. For the Communion they used wooden flagons, goblets, and trays. The plates from which they ate were thin octagonal pieces of poplar board, their forks and candlesticks were of wood, and every article that could be made of that substance was used by the whole community.

Rupp says that the chimneys, which remain in use to this day (1844), are of wood; and the attention of the present writer was called in 1872 to wooden door-hinges.

Rupp says that they all observed great abstemiousness in their diet; they were vegetarians, and submitted to many privations and to a rigid discipline exerted over them by a somewhat austere spiritual father.

Peter Miller himself says that he stood under Beissel's direction for thirty years, and that it was as severe as any related in the Romish Church (but this sounds exaggerated).

In the brother- and sister-houses, it has been

---

made use of it one night, but sent it away afterward,—and not even in dying could be brought to give up the sleeping-bench (*die Schlafbanck*).

stated that six dormitories surrounded a common room in which the members of each subdivision pursued their respective employments. "Each dormitory was hardly large enough to contain a cot, a closet, and an hour-glass."\*

Of the industries established at Ephrata, one of Peter Miller's letters gives us a good idea. He complains, as before mentioned, of Eckerlin's obliging them to interfere so far in worldly things, and that money was put out at interest.

He adds that they erected a grist-mill, with three pairs of stones; a saw-mill, paper-mill, oil-mill, and fulling-mill; had besides three wagons with proper teams, a printing-office, and sundry other trades.

He adds, "Our president [by whom he means Beissel] never meddled with temporal things."

Mr. Rupp (who cites the *Life of Rittenhouse*) says that the women were employed in spinning,

---

\* In Carey's Museum for 1789, will be found a letter from a British officer to the editor of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, whence it appears that at that time, 1786, a rug was laid upon the sleeping-bench. The writer says that each brother had a cell, with a closet adjoining; that the smallness of the rooms was very disagreeable, and that they were not clean. The churches were clean and neat, but perfectly unadorned, except by some German texts. The house "occupied by the nuns" was uniformly clean, and the cells were in excellent order. (Some of the statements of this writer appear very loose.)



knitting, sewing, making paper lanterns and other toys. A room was set apart for ornamental writing, called "Das Schreibzimmer," and "several sisters," it has been said, devoted their whole attention to this labor, as well as to transcribing the writings of the founder of the society; thus multiplying copies before they had a press. But the press appears to have been early established, and it was the second German one in our State. It has been stated that Miller was at one time the printer.\*

Among the books published at Ephrata, were some of Beissel's, who had adopted the name of Peaceful (Friedsam). One of their publications was a collection of hymns, and was entitled "The Song of the Solitary and Abandoned Turtle Dove, namely, the Christian Church, . . . by a Peaceful Pilgrim traveling towards Quiet Eternity." Ephrata, from the press of the Fraternity, 1747. 500 pages, quarto.†

---

\* At Ephrata, in the winter of 1872, I was told that Miller was once met, as he was taking a load of paper from the mill to the press, by a certain man named Widman. This Widman, according to tradition, had been a vestryman in Miller's former church. "Is this the way they treat you," said Widman, "harnessing you up to a wheelbarrow?" and he spit in Miller's face.

Allusion will be made hereafter to the traditionary tale of Miller and Widman.

† Of one of the collections of hymns published at Ephrata,



Beissel also wrote a dissertation on man's fall, of which Miller says (1790), "When, in the late war, a marquis from Milan, in Italy, lodged a night in our convent, I presented to him the said dissertation, and desired him to publish it at home, and dedicate it to his Holiness," etc.

In 1748, a stupendous book was published by the society at Ephrata. It is the Martyr's Mirror, in folio, of which copies may be seen at the libraries of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and of the German Society, in Philadelphia.

The Chronicon Ephratense, or Ephrata Chronicle, so often alluded to in this article, was also from their press, but was published thirty-eight years later.

It contains the life of Beissel, under the title of the venerable "Father in Christ, Peaceful Godright (*Friedsam Gottrecht*), late founder and *vorsteher* of the Spiritual Order of the Solitary (*Einsamen*) in Ephrata, collected by Brothers Lamech and Agrippa." I have heard within this year of three copies still extant,—one in Lancaster County, one in Montgomery, and one

---

Fahnestock says that four hundred and forty-one had been written by Beissel, seventy-three by the brethren in the cloister, one hundred by the single sisters, and one hundred and twelve by the out-door members. Endress speaks in unfavorable terms of the literary merits of some of the Ephrata hymns.

in the library of the Historical Society at Philadelphia. The last I have been allowed to consult.

In speaking of the occupations practiced at Ephrata, it may be permitted to include music. Beissel is said to have been an excellent musician and composer. "There was another transcribing-room," says Fahnestock, "appropriated to copying music. Hundreds of volumes, each containing five or six hundred pieces, were transferred from book to book, with as much accuracy, and almost as much neatness, as if done with a graver."

In composing music, Beissel is said to have taken his style from nature. "The singing is the *Æolian* harp harmonized. . . . Their music is set in four, six, and eight parts."

Morgan Edwards\* (as cited in Day's Historical Collections) says, "Their singing is charming,—partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance." This style of singing is said by Rupp (1844) to be entirely lost at Ephrata, but to be preserved in a measure at Suow Hill, in Franklin County. Fahnestock, who was himself a Seventh-Day Baptist (or Siebtaeger], gives a very enthusiastic account of

---

\* "Materials towards a History of the American Baptists," 1770.

the singing at Snow Hill. It may be found in Day's Historical Collections, article "Franklin County."\*

In addition to the various industries which claimed the attention of the community, there must not be forgotten the care of their landed estate. It has been said that they bought about two hundred and fifty acres of land.†

A very large tract was once offered to them by one of the Penns, but they refused it. I was told at Ephrata that they were "afraid they would get too vain."

Count Zinzendorf, the celebrated Moravian

---

\* Dr. Fahnestock resided for awhile in the latter part of his life in the sister-house, at Ephrata. Here Mr. Rupp, the historian, visited him. Rev. Mr. Shrigley, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, who visited Ephrata, has spoken to me of Fahnestock's venerable appearance.

† In after years they seem to have been much troubled by litigation. Dr. Fahnestock says that they considered contention with arms, and at law, unchristian; but that they unfortunately had to defend themselves often in courts of justice. To set an example of forbearance and Christian meekness, they suffered themselves for a long time to be plundered, until forbearance was no longer a virtue. He says (*Hazard's Register*, 1835) that the society is just escaping from heavy embarrassments which they incurred in defending themselves from the aggressions of their neighbors. The British officer, whose statement was published as early as 1789, speaks of Peter Miller as often engaged in litigation.

In a recent work (*Belcher's History of Religious Denominations*, 1854), the Seventh-Day Baptists at Ephrata are said to possess about one hundred and forty acres.

bishop, came to Pennsylvania in 1741. At one time he visited Ephrata, and was entertained in the convent, where his friendly behavior was very agreeable to the brothers. (We can suppose that Miller, and Eckerlin, who was not yet deposed, were men fit to entertain him.) He also expressed a wish to see Beissel. This was made known to the latter, who answered, after a little reflection, that Zinzendorf was no wonder to him, but if he himself were a wonder to Zinzendorf, he must come to him (or as it seems, to Beissel's own house.) Zinzendorf was now in doubt what to do, but he turned away and left without seeing the father (vorsteher). The Chronicle adds that thus did two great lights of the church meet as on the threshold, and yet neither ever saw the other in his life.

The Moravians also erected brother- and sister-houses, but they were not monastic institutions.\*

Dissension arose at one time between some of the brethren (apparently secular brothers) and Count Zinzendorf, at a conference held by the latter at Oley, now in Berks County. Zinzendorf

---

\* Morgan Edwards, in speaking of the recluses at Ephrata, says that they took the vow of celibacy. But, as so many of our German Baptists are opposed to oaths, I presume that they did not. "Teach, by example, that a promise is truly an oath," says a late Pennsylvania paper.

seems to have desired to unite some of the sects with which Pennsylvania was so abundantly supplied. But the solitary brethren (of Ephrata) were so suspicious of the thing that they would no longer unite with it. They had prepared a writing upon marriage, how far it is from God, and that it was only a praiseworthy ordinance of nature. This they presented, whereupon there arose a violent conflict in words.

The ordinarius (Zinzendorf) said that he was by no means pleased with this paper; his marriage had not such a beginning; his marriage stood higher than the solitary life in Ephrata. The Ephrata delegates strove to make all right again, and spoke of families in their society who had many children.\*

But Zinzendorf left his seat as chairman, . . . and at last the conference came to an end, all present being displeased.†

---

\* Somewhat altered from the original.

† A writer in the Chronicle speaks of being at one of the count's conferences, where there were Mennonites, Separatists, and Baptists. But when he came home, he told the *vorsteher* that he regarded the count's conference as a snare to bring simple awakened souls again into infant-baptism and church-going. Then they held a council, and resolved to have a yearly conference of their own.

The above expression—infant-baptism and church-going—sounds so much like the account of the Baptist or Anabaptist persecutions narrated in the Martyr-book, that we might almost conclude that the Dunkers had a direct connection with

About this date (or about 1740) took place the formation of the sabbath-school, by Ludwig Hoecker, called Brother Obed.\* He was a teacher in the secular school at Ephrata,—a school which seems to have enjoyed considerable reputation. The sabbath-school (held on Saturday afternoon) is said to have been kept up over thirty years. This was begun long before the present Sunday-school system was introduced by Robert Raikes. (*American Cyclopædia*, article *Dunkers*.)

Not long after the visit of Zinzendorf, or about 1745, occurred the deposition of Eckerlin, the prior Onesimus. In one of his letters, Miller says (1790), "Remember, we have lost our first prior and the sisters their first mother . . . because they stood in self-elevation, and did govern despotically;" and adds, "the desire to govern is the last thing which dies within a man." (It seems probable that Eckerlin has not received sufficient credit for the pecuniary success of the infant community.)

---

the Anabaptists, instead of originating among the Pictists. But it will be remembered that the Ephrata Dunkers had printed an edition of the great Martyr-book, and it is most probable that some of them were familiar with it. Still, there may have been among the Pictists some who were or had been Baptists.

\* Near the close of this sketch mention is made of "Hoeckers a Creveld." Perhaps Ludwig belonged to the same family.

Some ten years after his deposition (or in 1755), began the old French and Indian war. Fahnestock tells us that the doors of the cloister, including the chapels, etc., were opened as a refuge for the inhabitants of Tulpehocken and Paxton\* settlements, which were then the frontiers, to protect the people from the incursions of the hostile Indians. He adds that all these refugees were received and kept by the society during the period of alarm and danger. Upon hearing of which, a company of infantry was dispatched by the royal government from Philadelphia to protect Ephrata.†

---

\* Paxton Township is now in Dauphin County. (See Day.) The Paxton church was three miles east of Harrisburg.

† The Ephrata Chronicle says that, as the enemy approached (the Indians came within thirteen miles of Ephrata), many persons sought refuge in the cloister, with those who were themselves in need of protection. As reports of murders reached Ephrata day after day, the celibates (*Einsamen*) became despondent, and even the leader turned pale,—a thing that had never been witnessed before. When danger was so imminent, the fathers proposed to take the sisters away on wagons to a safer place. It was then that Beissel received by night a divine revelation to the effect that no *Einsamer* should perish by the hands of the Indians.

Accordingly they remained at their station, and it really turned out as Beissel had predicted. The people who took refuge in the monastery probably stayed at Ephrata, not with a view of finding protection behind the wooden walls of the cloister, but for the sake of shelter and support. The statement that the government sent a company of soldiers for the protection of Ephrata seems to be verified by the mention

But why, we might ask, did these people seek refuge in a community of non-combatants? The question bears on the yet unsettled controversy, as to whether the men of peace or the men of war were nearer\* right in their dealings with the savages.

Beissel died in the year 1768, or about thirty years after the establishment of the cloister. Upon his tombstone was placed, in German, this inscription :

"Here rests a Birth of the love of God, Peaceful, a Solitary, but who afterward became a Superintendent of the Solitary Community of Christ in and around Ephrata: born in Oberbach in the Palatinate, and named Conrad Beissel.

"He fell asleep the 6th of July, A.D. 1768: of

in the Chronicle of *Rothröcke* or Red-coats.—*Dr. Seidensticker*.

\* The Mennonites and Quakers were peaceably disposed towards the Indians, but the Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who settled at Paxton, felt a deadly animosity against them, and, as Day says, against the peaceful Moravians and Quakers, who wished to protect the Indians, at the expense, as the Paxton men thought, of the lives of the settlers. The Paxton Rangers were commanded by the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Colonel Elder, who seems to have opposed the massacre of the Indians at Lancaster by the "Paxton boys." Day says that no historian ought to excuse or justify the murders at Lancaster and Conestoga, and adds that they must ever remain dark and bloody spots in our provincial history.



his spiritual life 52, but of his natural one, 77 years and 4 months."

Endress says: "He appears to me to have been a man possessed of a considerable degree of the spirit of rule; his mind bent from the beginning upon the acquirement of authority, power and ascendancy." For ourselves, we have just seen how he received Count Zinzendorf, who had crossed the ocean, and come, as it were, to his threshold."

Mr. Endress further says:

"Beissel, good or bad, lived and died the master-spirit of the brotherhood. With him it sank into decay."

The British officer who wrote in 1786 (?), eighteen years after Beissel's death, gives the number of the celibates as seven men and five women. I do not consider him good authority; but if the numbers were so much reduced from those of 1740, it seems probable that they had begun to decline before the decease of Beissel.\*

Eighteen years after Beissel's death, was published at Ephrata the Chronicle of which I have so often spoken, giving an account of his life. He was succeeded by Peter Miller.

Miller was sixty-five years old when our Revolutionary war broke out, and had been the leader at Ephrata seven years.

---

\* See Carey's American Museum.

Fahnestock says that after the battle of Brandywine "the whole establishment was opened to receive the wounded Americans, great numbers of whom (Rupp says four or five hundred) were brought here in wagons a distance of more than forty miles, and one hundred and fifty of whom died and are buried on Mount Zion."\*

It is also narrated that before the battle of Germantown a quantity of unbound books were seized at Ephrata by some of our soldiers, in order to make cartridges. "An embargo," says Miller, "was laid on all our printed paper, so that for a time we could not sell any printed book." (See Carey's American Museum.)

A story has appeared in print, and not always in the same manner, about Miller's going to General Washington and receiving from him a pardon for his old enemy Widman, who was condemned to die.

This story Mr. Rupp thinks is based upon tradition; one version has been told in a glowing manner, and is attributed to Dr. Fahnestock. It runs thus. On the breaking out of the Revolution, committees of safety were formed in different districts to support our cause. At the head of the Lancaster County Committee was Michael Widman, who kept a public-house, and

---

\* An insignificant hill overlooking the meadow where the brother- and sister-houses now stand.

who had been a vestryman in the Reformed Church. This church Miller had left when he joined the Baptists. He persecuted Miller to a shameful extent, even spitting in his face when he met him.

Widmau was at first bold and active in the cause of independence, but he became discouraged, and resolved to go to Philadelphia and conciliate General Howe, the British commander, who then held that city. Howe, however, declined his services,\* but gave orders to see him safely beyond the British outposts.

His treasonable intentions having become known to the Americans, he was arrested and taken to the nearest block-house, at the Turk's Head, now West Chester; was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be hung.

Peter Miller, hearing of his arrest, went to General Washington and pleaded for mercy towards him. The general answered that the state of public affairs was such as to make it necessary that renegades should suffer, "otherwise I should most cheerfully release your friend."

"Friend!" exclaimed Miller: "he is my worst enemy,—my incessant reviler."†

Said the general, "My dear friend, I thank

---

\* A remarkable statement.

† Compare this inflated language with Miller's letter, as quoted.

you for this example of Christian charity!" and he granted Miller's petition.

It is not necessary for me to go further, and describe the scene of Miller's arriving upon the ground with the pardon just as Widman was to be hung, nor the subsequent proceedings there, for I am quite sure that they did not take place.

The evidence to this effect is found in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. ix., where Peter Miller writes to Secretary Matlack, interceding (apparently) for a man named Rein.

Miller says, "I have thought his case was similar to Michael Wittman's, who received pardon without a previous trial."

The secretary replies (1781), "Witman did not receive a pardon previous to a surrender."

Thus it seems that the story of Widman's trial by court-martial is also wrong. That his property was confiscated, as I was lately told at Ephrata, I have no reason to doubt, as the Colonial Records, vol. xii., show that in council, in 1779, it was resolved that the agents for forfeited estates should sell that of Michael Wittman, subject to a certain claim.\*

At Ephrata, during the past winter, I stood in the loft of the brother-house beside a great

---

\* The different modes of spelling what appears to be the same name will not surprise those who are familiar with our Pennsylvania German names.

clergy of wood and clay, and was told that these Witnesses had been added. Whether he actually converted history to the brother-house, as has been asserted, I do not find that history declares.

At a subsequent date, 1761, we find in the Pennsylvania Archives, vol. ix., that Miller interceded for certain Mennonites who had been fined for not apprehending British deserters; the Mennonites not being permitted by their principles to do so.

Does this mean deserters from our side to the British,—who were, as deserters, liable to the punishment of death? a punishment which the Mennonites, as non-resistance, could not inflict.

Certain letters of Peter Miller, printed in Hazelt's Register, and of which I have made considerable use, were written at an advanced age,—eighty or thereabout. He says in one of them (Dec., 1779), "Age, infirmity, and defect in sight are causes that the letter wants more paraphrase, for which I beg pardon."

He died about six years after, having lived some sixty years a member of the community at Ephrata.

Upon his tombstone was placed this inscription in German:

"Here lies buried Peter Miller, born in Ober-ampf Isenach, in the Palatinate (Ober-Pfalz); came as a Reformed preacher to America in the

year 1730; was baptized by the Community at Ephrata in the year 1735, and named Brother Jaebez; also he was afterward a preacher (*Lehrer*) until his end. He fell asleep the 25th of September, 1796, at the age of eighty-six years and nine months."

In the plain upon the banks of the Cocalico still stand the brother- and sister-houses,\* and, I was told in 1872, the houses of Conrad Beissel and of Peter Miller.

But the society is feeble in numbers, and the buildings are going to decay. They are still, however, occupied, or partly so. Several women live here. Some of these were never married, but the majority are widows; and not all of them are members of the Baptist congregation. Nor are the voices of children wanting.

The last celibate brother died some forty years ago. One, indeed, has been here since, but, as I was told, "he did not like it," and went to the more flourishing community of Snow Hill, in Franklin County.

The little Ephrata association (which still owns a farm), instead of supporting its unmarried members, now furnishes to them only house-rent, fuel, and flour. The printing-press long since ceased from its labors, and many of the other industrial pursuits have declined.

---

\* Not the buildings first erected.

No longer do the unmarried or celibate members own all the property, but it is now vested in all who belong to the meeting, single and married, and is in the hands of trustees. The income is, I presume, but small.

The unmarried members wear our usual dress, and none are strictly recluse.

Formerly a large room or chapel was connected with the brother-house. It was furnished with galleries, where sat the sisters, while the brethren occupied the floor below. (This building, I am told, is not standing.) In the smaller room or chapel (*saal*) connected with the sister-house, about twenty people now meet on the seventh day for public worship. But among all these changes the German language still remains! All the services that I heard, while attending here in February of 1872, were in that tongue, except two hymns at the close. We must not suppose that this language is employed because the members are natives of Germany. One or two may be, but the preacher's father or grandfather came to this country when a boy.

Around the meeting-room are hung charts or sheets of grayish paper, containing German verses in ornamental writing, the ancient labors of the celibates, or perhaps of the sisters alone. One small chart here is said to represent the three heavens, and to contain three hundred



figures in Capuchin dress, with harps in their hands, and two hundred archangels.

But for these old labors in pen and ink, the chapel is as plain as a Quaker meeting-house. It is kept beautifully clean.\*

Opening out of it is a kitchen, furnished with the apparatus for cooking and serving the simple repasts of the love-feasts.

Among these Baptists, love-feasts are held not only, as I understand, in a similar manner to the other Dunkers, but upon funeral occasions,—a short period after the interment of a brother or sister.

Rupp speaks of their eating lamb and mutton at their paschal feasts. In the old monastic time, it was only at love-feasts that the celibate brothers and sisters met.

Here I was shown a wooden goblet made by the brethren for the Communion. It has been said that they preferred to use such, even after more costly ones had been given to them.

After attending the religious services in the chapel, three or four of us—strangers—were supplied with dinner in the brother-house, at a neat and well-filled table.†

---

\* It may be observed how nearly this description of the chapel agrees with that given by the British officer of the one he visited here some eighty-five years ago.

† Fahnestock says that, like some dilapidated castles, Ephrata yet contains many habitable and comfortable apartments.



I afterward sat for an hour in the neat and comfortable apartment of Sister — in the sister-house. Here she has lived twenty-two years, and, though now much advanced in life, has not that appearance. She seemed lovely, and, I was told, had not been unsought. One of her brothers has been thirty-three years at the Snow Hill community.

Sister — produced for me a white cotton over-dress, such as was formerly worn by the sisters. It was a cap or cowl, with long pieces hanging down in front and behind nearly to the feet; and, if I remember it right, not of the pattern described in the Chronicle. But fashions change in fifty to a hundred years.

Sister — also showed me some verses recently written or copied by one of the brethren at Snow Hill. They were in German, of which I offer an unrhymed version :

“ Oh divine life, ornament of virginity !  
How art thou despised by all men here below !  
And yet art a branch from the heavenly throne,  
And borne by the virgin Son of God.”

I was surprised to find such prominence given to the idea of the merits of celibacy, for I had not then seen the *Chronicon Ephratense*.

One object which especially attracted my at-

---

The brother- and sister-houses, etc., form but a small part of the modern village of Ephrata. He wrote some time ago.

tention was an upright clock, which stood in the room of Sister —, and which was kept in very good order. It was somewhat smaller than the high clocks that were common forty or fifty years ago.

All that I heard of its history was that it had come from Germany. It had four weights suspended on chains. Above the dial-plate hovered two little angels, apparently made of lead, one on either side of a small disk, which bore the inscription "Hoeckers a Crefeld,"—as I interpret, made by the Hoeckers at Crefeld. Crefeld,—historic town! Here then was a relic of it, and standing quite disregarded,—it was only an old German clock!

When the Dunkers were persecuted in Europe, soon after their establishment, some of them took refuge in Crefeld, in the duchy of Cleves.

I have lately read that in Crefeld, Mühlheim, etc., William Penn and others gained adherents to the doctrine of the Quakers.\*

We also find in the *American Cyclopædia* that at Crefeld (Ger. Krefeld), a colony of Huguenot refugees in the seventeenth century introduced the manufacture of silk—Dunkers and Quakers, and perhaps Huguenots, fleeing from France when Louis XIV. revoked that

---

\* See article "Francis Daniel Pastorius," by Dr. Seidensticker, in the *Penn Monthly*, January and February, 1872.

edict of Nantes which had so long protected them.\*

Who were the Hoeckers, or who was the Hoecker that made this old clock? Who bought it in historic Crefeld? Who brought it from Europe, got it up into Lancaster County, and lodged it in the monastery or nunnery at Ephrata? What, if anything, had Ludwig Hoecker or Brother Obed to do with it—he who taught the early sabbath-school? What tales could it not tell! But it is well cared for in the comfortable apartment of the kindly sister.†

The Snow-Hill settlement, I presume, is named from the family of Snowberger,‡ one of whom endowed the society. It is situated at Antietam, Franklin County, Pennsylvania; where a large farm belongs to “the nunnery” (an expression that I heard at Ephrata). There were, until lately, five sisters and four brothers at Antietam, but one of the brethren recently died.

The brethren have sufficient occupation in taking care of their property; the sisters keep house, eating in the same apartment at the same time with the brothers. Under these circumstances I could imagine the comfort and order of the establishment, and think of the brothers

\* Crefeld is now in Rhenish Prussia.—*Amer. Cyclopædia*.

† The name Hacker, now heard in Lancaster County, is it not the same as the above?

‡ *Schneeberger*, or people of Snow Hill?

and sisters meeting in a cool and shaded dining-room. What question then should I be likely to ask? This one: "Do they never marry?"

I was told that marriages of the brothers and sisters (celibates) are not unknown; but I also understood that such a thing is considered back-sliding. Persons thus married remain members of the church, but must leave the community, and find support elsewhere.\*

In an article by Redmond Conyngham (*Hazard's Register*, vol. v.) will be found the statement that the "President of the Dunkers" says:

"We deny eternal punishment; those souls who become sensible of God's great goodness and clemency, and acknowledge his lawful authority, . . . and that Christ is the only true Son of God, are received into happiness; but those who continue obstinate are kept in

---

\* Mr. Endress tells us that with many of the single brethren and sisters at Ephrata, the mystical idea of the union with Christ was evidently used to gratify one of the strongest natural affections of the human heart. "The Redeemer was their bridegroom or bride. . . . He was the little infant they carried under their hearts, the dear little lamb they dandled on their laps."

He adds that this at least was found much more among the single than among those whose affections were consecrated in a conjugal life. "The powers of human nature would evince their authority." "According to Sangmeister, some sank under the unceasing struggle." See *Hazard's Register*, 1830.

darkness until the great day, when light will make all happy." According to Dr. Fahnestock, however, the idea of a universal restoration, which existed in the early days, is not now publicly taught.

The observance of the seventh day as a sabbath must always be onerous, in a community like ours. Hired people are not required by the Siebentaeger (or seventh-day men) to work on Saturday; and, unless of their own persuasion, will not work on Sunday.

It has been said that the customs at Ephrata resembled the Judaic ones; and Endress says that they consider baptism similar to purification in the Mosaic law,—as a rite which may be repeated from time to time when the believer has become defiled by the world, and would again renew his union with Christ. But Miller says (1790), "Our standard is the New Testament."\*

Fahnestock says that they do not approve of paying their ministers; and it seems that the women, or at least the single sisters, are at liberty to speak in religious meetings.

In the correspondence of one of our Lancaster papers of 1871, there was given the following account: "Ephrata, May 21.—The Society of the Seventh-Day Baptists held their semi-annual

---

\* Upon this subject of the New Testament as a creed, etc. all or nearly all our German Baptist sects seem to unite.

love-feast yesterday, when one new member was added to the society by immersion. In the evening the solemn feast of the Lord's Supper was celebrated, the occasion attracting a large concourse of people,—only about half of whom could obtain seats. The conduct of a number of persons on the outside was a disgrace to an intelligent community."

The article also mentions preachers as present from Bedford, Franklin and Somerset counties. However, the whole number of the Seventh-Day German Baptists, in our State, is very small.

---

[NOTE.—Since this article was written, the author has heard what is the present location of the bell which was ordered from Europe by Eckerlin,—Brother Onesimus,—and which caused so much dissension in the little Ephrata community when it arrived in the year 1745. (See note on page 159.)

This bell was sold, as has been before stated, to the Lutherans of Lancaster. It was long in use upon Trinity Lutheran Church, but was afterwards sold to one of the fire-engine or hose companies of Lancaster, and is still in use, and in good preservation, bearing upon it the Latin inscription, with the name of the "reverend man" Onesimus.

Is there an older bell in use upon this continent?]

## BETHLEHEM AND THE MORAVIANS.

---

ON August 22d, 1873, as I stood upon the tower of Packer Hall, Lehigh University, I saw spread out before me the whole of Bethlehem, with furnaces, railroads, bridges, churches, schools; and the rolling country and cultivated fields of Northampton and Lehigh counties. Pointing to a wooded hill, my little guide said, "That is Iron Hill, where iron ore comes from."

In the first house built at Bethlehem, on the 24th of December, 1741, Zinzendorf and his companions celebrated their first Christmas Eve in America. I saw in the town a picture by Grünewald, of the house in which they met,—a long, one-story log house,\* with overhanging eaves, the unbroken forest behind admirably expressing the loneliness of the situation.

In the beginning, one end of this building was for cattle, as in Switzerland and other parts of South Germany.

When this first house was newly erected, Zin-

---

\* Was the original building so large?

zendorf visited it, and on Christmas Eve he went with others into the stable and sang,—

“Nicht aus Jerusalem, sondern Bethlehem  
Aus dem kommt, was mir frommt.”

or, in prose,

“That which is profitable to me, comes not from Jerusalem, but from Bethlehem,”—

and thus the new-born *town* was named Bethlehem.

“The material treasures of the Lehigh valley,” says a Moravian bishop, “the national rage of hastening to be rich, will, I fear, too much overgrow the spiritual interests of the people.”

Since Zinzendorf entered the log cabin of Bethlehem one hundred and thirty years have passed by, and four or five generations of mortal men. Other changes too have befallen the Moravians. For twenty years they lived in an *economie*, or associated like one family. That strict rule, which afterwards kept the unmarried in brother- and sister-houses, has since been annulled, and no vestige of it remains here but in the custom of sitting in church, the brethren on one side, and the sisters on the other.\*

In like manner has disappeared here the custom of appealing to the lot, which formerly prevailed even in matters so solemn as marriage.†

---

\* And this is not universal.

† The general use of the lot was abrogated in 1817. Although



The plainness of apparel which once distinguished the Moravians has disappeared also. Once even the young ladies who studied at the boarding-school were obliged to wear the peculiar Moravian dress.

In the Historical Collection at Nazareth are preserved thick muslin caps, such as the women once wore, with peculiar pieces, like a scallop shell, to cover the ears. Those tasteful little caps now worn by the young women in the choir, and the neat ones worn by the sisters who attend the love-feasts, can scarcely keep up the memory of those of olden time.

Once the Moravians did not take oaths, but obeyed literally the command, "Swear not at all;" but now judicial oaths are permitted.

Formerly, the bulk of the real estate belonged to the church, and none could buy who were not members; but this rule has been broken, and *foreigners* have been allowed to buy land in Bethlehem and other Moravian towns.\*

---

marriage by lot is no longer obligatory, yet a Moravian gentleman tells me that this manner of decision is still resorted to,—and frequently in Europe. Bishops are usually appointed by lot.

\* The *lease system*, so called, was abolished in 1844. The Moravian communities abroad, especially upon the continent of Europe, are close communities, no one being allowed to buy of their lands who is not a member of the Moravian Church. They retain more plainness of dress in Saxony and Prussia, and even in Great Britain, than prevails in America. There the women all wear caps in religious services.

One trait, which has hitherto remarkably distinguished them, still exists, namely, a great missionary zeal. In 1873 a gentleman gave the numbers of the Moravians at seventy thousand baptized missionary converts, to twenty-three thousand home members in Europe and America. On this estimate the missionary converts are more than three to each of the members in the other lands.\*

At Bethlehem a considerable landed estate belongs to the church, whence is drawn an income of about \$18,000. All the institutions of learning here, including the Young Ladies' Boarding School, belong to the church, and the teachers are its salaried officers.

The different provinces of the Church, the American, English, and German, are like separate States of our Union, their general head meeting or residing in Saxony. This general synod still, in some respects, gives rules to our Pennsylvania Moravians; and one of the bishops says

---

\* The heavy expense entailed by enterprises so great does not fall entirely upon the Church. The Mission Report of 1872, in speaking of Australia, mentions that the missionaries are cheered by the sympathy and aid of Christians of different denominations; and adds that the mission has sustained a loss in the death of the Rev. Mr. Mackie, of the Presbyterian Church, in Melbourne. The *Moravian Manual* also speaks of missions that are self-supporting, and of missionaries who labor, like Paul, for their own support.

that the Moravian is the only Protestant church which is a unity throughout the world.

#### FESTIVALS.

My first visit to Bethlehem occurred at Whitsuntide,—Whitsunday or Pentecost falling upon June 1st. As early as half-past seven there was music from the steeple of the large Moravian church, from a choir of trombone players. This instrument, which is of the trumpet kind, is much in use among the Moravians for church music,\* the choir generally consisting of four pieces.

I attended morning service in the large church, in which English services are held. In this church there were no pews, or rather, there were “open pews,” without doors. Soon after the opening of the services, passages of Scripture were read alternately, a verse by the preacher, and one by the congregation. Afterwards the Apostles’ Creed was repeated in concert. During the services a litany was read; for the Moravians, if in some things they resembled Quakers, were very far from them in discarding outward forms.†

---

\* Its use is taught it seems even to barbarians, for the Mission Report, in speaking of an Esquimaux church, says, “The corner-stone was solemnly laid, when the native trombone players discoursed sweet music.”

† In the following from the litany, I observed an inconvenience :

There was in the morning service no public extemporaneous prayer, nor any prayer in the printed service, except the litanies.

Notice was given that the anniversary of the Female Missionary Society would be celebrated in the afternoon by a love-feast, and that the Communion would be held in the afternoon in the German language, and in the evening in the English.

The love-feasts of the church, which are numerous, fifteen in the course of the year, are religious meetings, accompanied by a simple refecton of coffee, and rusks or buns. They are founded, it seems, upon a passage in Jude, and are intended to set forth by a simple meal, of which all partake in common, that there is no respect of persons before the Lord.

The religious services upon the present occasion consisted of singing and prayer, and some remarks were made by a gentleman who had formerly been a missionary in Jamaica. In a calm manner mothers were urged to devote their children to the missionary service, rather than to active business (worldly) employments.

The love-feast coffee is celebrated. As it was brought in, diffusing its odor through the

---

*Preacher.*—"By thy glorious resurrection and ascension, By thy sitting at the right hand of God."

*Congregation.*—"Bless and comfort us, gracious Lord and God."

church, there was singing in the German language. It was handed in white mugs by one of the brethren, and the rusks, which were light and good, were presented in a basket by a sister.

After the address was over, neatly dressed sisters, as well as brethren, passed among the congregation and collected the coffee mugs upon wooden trays.\*

In a manner similar to this just described, the Moravians celebrate upon the 25th of June the anniversary of the founding of Bethlehem.

The services on Easter morning are described in a familiar manner by Mr. Grider, in his "Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem.†"

About three in the morning the band of trombone players begins to pass through the streets, to awaken the members of the congregation. The spacious church is usually filled at an early hour, and the Easter morning litany, which embraces the creed of the Church, is repeated. At the passage, "Glory unto him, who is the resurrection and the life," the minister announces that the rest of the litany will be repeated on the

---

\* The frequent repetition of the word love-feast has caused it to be often shortened in conversation, it being pronounced by some as if written *luff-east*.

† To the Rev. W. C. Reichel, the author of several historical works, I am indebted for a correction in the article "The Dunker Love-feast."

burial-ground. A procession is formed, and it is so timed that as it enters the grounds it is met by the glorious beams of the rising sun, an emblem of resurrection.\*

The services are continued in the open air, the singing being led by the instrumental performers. It is said that on a fair morning "about two thousand persons usually attend this really grand and impressive service;" the grounds, which are always kept neat, being especially attended to before Easter.\* The first service on Easter Sunday took place at Herrnhut, Saxony, in the year 1732. The "Young Men's Class" repaired before dawn to the graveyard, and spent an hour and a half in singing and prayer.†

The same manner of observing Easter seems to be world-wide. From the Mission Report, we learn that Brother A. Gericke, writing from Fredericksthal, Greenland, says, "At Easter it was so beautifully mild that we could read the Church litany, according to the custom at home, in the burial-ground."

---

\* Tombstones are placed on the newly-made graves, old tombstones are cleaned, etc. These stones are "breast-stones," not of large size, and lie flat upon the graves,—in the Moravian manner.

† I am quite at a loss to know why the colored eggs, purple, red, and yellow, in use among the Moravians (as among other Germans), should here have been called rabbits' eggs, and the idea been held out that the eggs were of different colors because different rabbits brought them.

The celebration of Christmas Eve is spoken of by Mr. Grider, who says, "The services last about two hours, during which the Rev. J. F. F. Hagen's 'Morning Star, the darkness break!' is sung alternately by the choir in the gallery and the children in the body of the church. This anthem," he says, "although simple, and intended for children only, has taken deep root in the hearts of the congregation, who seem never to tire of its performance."

Other musical compositions are performed, such as,—

"For unto us a child is born" (*Handel*).

"Sey will kommen" (Welcome) (*Haydn*).

"Lift up your heads, O ye gates!" (*Handel*)

"Gloria," 12th Mass (*Mozart*).

Mr. G. tells us that at this time the church choir numbers sixteen female and eight male singers. The accompaniment consists of the organ, two first and two second violins, viola, violoncello, double bass, two French horns, two trumpets, trombone, and flute. This is certainly a remarkable variety of instruments in a church choir.

A lady of Nazareth tells me that Christmas Eve is celebrated among the Moravians by a love-feast in the church. After the cakes and coffee, little wax candles, lighted, are brought in upon trays, and distributed to the children, while

verses are sung. "This," says she, "is to give them an impression of the Sun of Righteousness." The following lines were sung for several years (and may still be in use):

"Geh' auf mit hellem Schein,  
Und leucht ins Herz hinein,  
Leucht über Gross und Klein!  
Du Sonne der Gerechtigkeit!  
Verbreite Wonn' und Seligkeit,  
Und flamme jedermann  
Yetzt und fortan  
Zu brünst'ger Liebe an."

Of which I offer the following version:

Rise with clear lustre,  
And shine within the heart,  
Shine over great and small,  
Thou Sun of Righteousness!  
Spread joy and blessedness!  
And kindle every one  
To warmest love.

A lady of Bethlehem says that the Moravians there follow the German fashion, not of having a Christmas-tree merely, but a *Putz*, or decoration; in which they usually represent a manger with cattle, the infant Jesus and his mother, and the three wise men. At the young ladies' seminary she says that the *Putzes* are often very fine. The people go around to see the decorations. Christmas is a great festival.

The New Year is thus celebrated. At half-past eleven, on New Year's Eve, the congrega-



tion assemble for "watch meeting." It is thus described by Mr. Grider: "After the officiating minister enters, the choir sing Bishop Gregor's solemn composition, 'Lord, Lord God,' and then the congregation sing; after which the text for that day is read from the Text-Book, and is the subject of the discourse which follows. Meanwhile the musicians in the choir watch the progress of the night, and assemble before the organ; and the organist sits with his feet poised, ready to begin. When the year expires, the new one is welcomed by a loud crash of melody from the organ, and a double choir of trombone players. The congregation rise and join in singing, followed by prayer, etc."\* These services are always largely attended.

I have just spoken of the text for the day. A friend says, "These texts for the day are published in a little annual volume, 'Doctrinal Texts of the Unitas Fratrum,' prepared in Saxony and sent to the Moravians the world over,—in Africa, Asia, Australia, and America. The first text is selected by lot, the remainder by a committee at Herrnhut. This is a relic of the old times, when the Moravians used the lot in many religious ceremonies,—even in marriage."

Another says: "The Text-Book consists of a selection of verses from the Bible, for each day,

---

\* Abbreviated from the original.

with appropriate collects taken from the Hymn-Book. It has been issued since 1731. The first verse, or 'daily word,' contains a short sentence of prayer, exhortation, or promise. The second, or 'doctrinal text,' is intended to enforce some doctrinal truth or practical duty. The Text-Book is printed in English, German, French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Esquimaux, and in the Negro-English of Surinam, S. A."

Birthdays were formerly celebrated among the Moravians, and still are in some families, as a citizen of Bethlehem tells me, by little home parties, called *vespers*, where the friends of the family are bidden between two and three P.M., and where they partake of coffee and sugar-cake; a cake used not only among the Moravians here, but by the people of Northern Germany. Birthdays were formerly celebrated by serenades. Record was also kept of the birthdays of friends, of distinguished members of the church, etc.

The Birthday-Book and Text-Book, says Mr. Grider, were placed on the breakfast-table each morning. After the text was read, and while the family were being served, the record was generally consulted to see whose birthday it was. This custom served as a bond which held the inhabitants in social union.\*

---

\* A lady in Bethlehem told me that she had expected a man to help her put down carpet, who had failed to appear. About nine the next morning she met him upon the street some-

When a death occurs in the Moravian congregation at Bethlehem, the choir of trombonists plays several tunes from the steeple of the large church. Any Moravian can tell from the tunes played to which choir or band the deceased belonged, whether to the married men's or married women's, to the young men's or young women's, to the children's, or to any other of the bands into which the congregation is divided,—divisions which were formerly of more importance than now.

At funerals the same choir of trombones heads the procession.

#### THE GRAVEYARD.

Walking in the street at Bethlehem, I saw a large shaded and grassy inclosure with seats in it, and a number of girls and children, children's carriages, etc. I said to a working man, "What do you call this,—a square?"

It was the graveyard or old burial-place, but there were no monuments visible, from the Moravian custom of laying stones, called "breast-stones," flat upon spots of interment.

If you enter this yard from the northwest cor-

---

what intoxicated and friendly and communicative. "Oh, Mrs. —," said he, "I couldn't come yesterday. It was my *bursday*." Whence we may infer that the celebration of birthdays has spread in the community.

ner, from Market Street, you come immediately to the graves of three bishops, in no way more distinguished than the others which bear breast-stones. One says: "Johannes Etwein, Episcopus Fratrum (or Bishop of the Brethren); born June 29th, 1721, at Freudenstadt in Germany, departed Jan. 2d, 1802.

Here he rests in peace."

The graves of the Indians and negroes, who were buried here, are not in an especial corner or division, but are indiscriminately mingled with those of the other Moravians. But on the outer edge are buried some persons of disreputable life.

One stone bears the following inscription:

"In memory of Tschoop, a Mohican Indian, who in holy baptism, Ap. 16, 1742, received the name of John: one of the first fruits of the mission at Shekomeko, N. Y., and a remarkable instance of the power of Divine Grace, whereby he became a distinguished teacher among his nation. He departed this life in full assurance of faith at Bethlehem, Aug. 27, 1746.

"There shall be one fold, and one Shepherd.—John x. 6."

About sixty-two Indians are buried here. A daughter of Heckewelder (the distinguished missionary) furnished new grave-stones for some of these Indian remains.

The largest stone in the inclosure rests upon

the grave of one of mixed blood, and I may be allowed to give a portion of the inscription as it is.

“In Memory to my dearest Son, James McDonald Ross, eldest son of John Ross, principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation . . . died in St. Louis, Nov. 9th, 1864. His Corps transported by Adams Express to Bethlehem, and interred at this sacred spot Nov. 22d, 1864, aged 50 years 29 days.”

One of the stones bears the name Traugott Leinbach, which might be translated Trust-God Flaxbrook, but which does not seem peculiar to those familiar with it.

At some of the graves there were bright, freshly-cut flowers.

At Nazareth I visited an inclosure which had once been a graveyard, but which had been neglected, and the stones in it had been moved by one who had become owner. This neglect has lately been atoned for by erecting a monument inscribed with the names of those buried here. The list was obtained by consulting the full and accurate accounts, which it is the duty of all Moravian ministers to keep. In looking at the names on the monument, I observed one Beata, an Indian who died in 1746, and two others, Beatus Schultz and Beata Böhmer. These were names assigned to infants dead before christening; Beatus, Beata meaning Blessed.

## OLD RECOLLECTIONS.

I met, at Bethlehem, a member of the Moravian Historical Society, who was born in that town in 1796, and was educated there. He was taught German, and could scarcely speak English at all at eighteen.

He learned his trade of clock- and watch-maker in the brethren's house. He was also employed until lately as teacher of vocal music in the parochial school.

When he was in the brethren's house—he began to learn his trade in 1810—there were about twenty brethren domiciled there,—though some of these had their shops elsewhere. They were all mechanics; there being a baker, shoemaker, tinsmith, etc. The cook was also an unmarried brother, all these household services being performed by the brethren themselves. My informant, he being the youngest boy, had to prepare breakfast for his employer.

When the morning bell sounded aloud\* the boys sprang up, and when one story down, went into the prayer-hall, where the vorsteher or superintendent directed the services; first "we sang a verse," and then the vorsteher read the text for the day. When the boys got down to the lower floor (four then lodged there), they

---

\* "Morgen Glocke zum Aufstehen."

swept out the rooms that were used for shops, ground their coffee, ran down to the cook in the cellar-kitchen and set their pots upon the coals, preparing a simple breakfast of bread, butter, and coffee, of which each boy partook with his employer in the shop. Then they made their cot-beds or threw the blankets back upon them; the brethren made their own.

Mr. W.'s mother did not, it seems, admire her son's manner of performing these domestic services. When she came down to bring fresh bed-clothes and to look after matters, she said, "If I had wax, I'd take a mould of your body here from your bed." "Why, what a crust you have inside of your coffee-pot."

Breakfast, in Mr. W.'s time, was thus eaten separately, but before that, when all the property was in common, "*eine economische Haushaltung*," or economical household,—"*every one was poor in that early day*,"—all the meals were eaten at a common table.

After breakfast, the boys washed the dishes and went to their work.

At a quarter before twelve the chapel bell rang for dinner, a custom which continued until about 1870. "I missed it," said Mr. W., "when it stopped, for I had heard it all my life."\*

---

\* The bell upon Nazareth Hall is still rung at a quarter before twelve, daily.

I inquired of Mr. W. whether they kept their time a half-hour or more ahead, like other Pennsylvania Germans. He replied that one of the brethren kept his clock by the sun-dial.

Mr. W. did not dine or sup at the brother-house, but went home for these meals. At the age of twelve, according to the usual custom, he left the children's choir, and became a member of the great boys' choir. The little boys and girls held their festivals together.

At eighteen he joined the young men's choir. About this time, the brethren's house was given up to the female seminary or boarding-school, and the few remaining brethren scattered through the town.\*

There had been little or no intercourse between these unmarried brethren and the sisters, but some staid, elderly sister was appointed to visit the brother-house, and see whether all the surroundings were clean.

"I remember," Mr. — said, "when marriages were made by lot, but that drove off a great many of the young people. The marriage by lot was more suited to missionaries, who had not time for a two years' courtship. Dr. Franklin, when in Bethlehem, asked Bishop Spangen-

---

\* The brethren's house was thus given up in 1812, some time before the date above assigned.



berg whether this practice did not make unhappy marriages, but the bishop replied, "Are all marriages happy that are made after long courtship?" "We did not have divorces, anyhow,"\* said Mr. W.

This was the manner of the marriage by lot.

If a young missionary came home, and met his friends, they would say, "Well, you've come home to get married?"

He would answer, "Yes; do you know of anyone suitable?"

"Yes; there's Sister Gretchen" (or Peggy).

Another might say, "There's Sister Liddy;" and thus a half-dozen names would perhaps be gathered. He had the privilege, I believe, of arranging the order of this list himself. Then, after prayer, the elders drew lots, taking the first name; one ballot being *Ja* and the other *Nein* (Yes and No.)

The idea was of an especial Providence, by which he should find out whether it was the Lord's will that he should have the first. If the first lot should prove *Ja*, the result was communicated to the sister, and time was allowed her to reflect whether to accept or refuse.

---

\* An enthusiastic friend says, "It is a well-known and abundantly substantiated fact, that fewer unhappy marriages were known among the Moravians than among the same number of people in any other denomination of Christians, while the lot was in practice." If so, let us burn our romances.

In the course of our conversation, Mr. W. rose and went into the next room; and, returning, brought two vest-buttons of crystal, set in silver, of which he gave the following account:

“My grandfather was a clothmaker, at Basle, in Switzerland. Zinzendorf being there\* called upon the young man, who was about leaving for America, to join the Bethlehem and Nazareth settlements.

“Zinzendorf said to him, ‘Matthias, we won’t meet any more in this world, but hope to meet in a better.’ He put his hand into his vest-pocket, and said, ‘I’m sorry I have nothing to leave you to remember me by.’

“Young Matthias answered, striking his breast, ‘As long as this heart shall beat, I’ll not forget you.’

“With a glance, Zinzendorf seized the shears from the clothmaker’s table, and quickly cut off two of his vest-buttons. ‘Take these,’ he said, ‘they’re nearest the heart.’”

It was the grandson of the clothmaker, himself a great-grandfather, who narrated the story, which he had received traditionally.

“I think,” said he, “that this exhibits the quickness of thought of Count Zinzendorf. He was a great recruiting sergeant. On meeting a

---

\* This perhaps occurred during Zinzendorf’s banishment from Saxony. See note at close of this article.

young man whom he took a fancy to, he would say, 'I have a place for you; I want you to go to Greenland, or (perhaps) to the Cape of Good Hope.' The young man, astonished, would wonder what this conspicuous nobleman meant by this. He generally succeeded, however, in charming the young man, and the matter ended by his going upon the mission."

A few recollections of old times were also given to me by a citizen of Nazareth, aged eighty-two, whom I call Mr. P. He himself was born in Bethlehem, but his father was born in Connecticut; his grandfather having migrated, it seems, and bought a farm at Gnadenhütten, a Moravian settlement, near Mauch Chunk.

Mr. P.'s mother was a Miksch. She was placed at the age of four years at the building at Nazareth, called Ephrata, to enable her mother to work.\* She did not like the treatment that she received here. "Her mother worked in the house (her house), and in the field, I think," said Mr. P. "The women now do not work much in the fields," he added. "They're afraid they might spoil their fingers. They're brought

---

\* This building, Ephrata, was once a "nursery," where as many as fifty-six young children were placed at one time. Some were removed from their mothers at as early an age as eighteen months, and placed under the common charge. See Transactions of Moravian Historical Society, 1857-58.

up altogether too proud. I don't know what will become of the next generation.

"My father moved to Bethlehem, and worked at his carpenter's trade. When he was married he went to the ferry (at Bethlehem), and kept it for ten years. There were no bridges then. He saw hard times in cold weather and high water. After that he moved to the saw-mill and distillery, which belonged to the Moravian Society. I think he got all he made in the distillery, but worked for wages in the saw-mill."

"The Moravians distilled liquor, then?" said I.

"Yes; they commonly drank a little too, about nine o'clock.

"When I was between thirteen and fourteen, I went to my trade. I was put into the brothers' house to sleep. My trade was a blacksmith's, and a pretty hard one too. I served my trade seven years and seven months. When I was in the brother-house, I spent my evenings and Sundays there. I had liberty to go home to my parents, but not to be running, like they do nowadays, and do mischief.

"My wife was not a member of the church, —we were married fifty-five years ago. Brother Seidel, the Moravian preacher, married us. They were not so strict then as they had been, in turning all those out of meeting that married out."

Mr. P. has a strong German accent. He said, "I never talked much English, only when I lived

nine years and a half at Quakertown. I now speak German altogether in my family. The young people here now all try to speak English. They're throwing the German away too much."

Recollections of a people would be imperfect without those of the women.

I saw at Nazareth Mrs. B., who was born at the Moravian town of Litiz, in Lancaster County, and who was in her eightieth year.

"When I was a child," said she, "we had Christmas dialogues, about the birth of Christ, his sufferings and death, which were repeated by the children. The dialogues were in the school on Christmas-day, but were repeated several times, so that all might hear, and we never got tired of it.\* Christmas-trees were put up then, as they are now. The Christmas *Putzes* or decorations were left standing until after New Year.

"On Easter morning we meet in the church at five in the morning, and the first tune they sing is,

" 'Der Herr ist aufershtanden,  
Er ist wahrhaftig aufershtanden.' †

" 'The Lord has arisen,  
He has indeed arisen.' "

---

\* A friend adds, "These Christmas dialogues are still to be heard in Moravian towns, in their parochial schools."

† The tendency to pronounce *s* like *sh* will be observed.

“At a certain place where the litany speaks of those who are buried in the churchyard, and of their rising again, we walk out into the churchyard, and the trombone players accompany the hymns that are sung. If the weather is stormy that we cannot go out, this is always a disappointment.

“When I was young, if a child was born in the morning, it was taken to church in the evening to be christened. Religious meetings were held every evening; sometimes a prayer-meeting, sometimes a *sing-meeting*.

“I recollect marriages by lot very well, because they continued until about 1818. All marriages were by lot. Young men and young women were not allowed to keep company, and they did not think about it.”

“They hardly dared to look at each other,” said another.

Mrs. B. continued: “If a young man wanted to marry,—of course he had his eye on some one he would like,—he told it to the *Bruder-Pfleger* (Brother Caretaker), who told it to the minister, and the minister to the *Schwester-Pfleger* (Sister Caretaker). The name that the young man chose was taken into the lot, and if the lot was favorable he might proceed, but if not he must look out for another. If the lot was favorable, it was told to the young woman by the *Schwester-Pfleger*, and if the young woman was willing this

sister told the minister. There was a *Bruder-Pfleger* in each brother-house, and a *Schwester-Pfleger* in each sister-house.\*

“Betrothals took place after the young woman had given her consent, in the presence of the conference, composed of the ministers and their wives, and the marriage would generally take place within a week, in the church. The wedding was public, but those who were invited stayed to the *Schmaus* (feast),† which was cake and wine in the church. Thus the ceremony was completed.

“Moravians then dressed with great plainness, much like the Quakers.”

As the Moravians were so very strict about the intercourse of the sexes, they could not have allowed two young men and two young women to sit up together with the unburied dead, as is the custom among some of our Pennsylvania people.

I spoke upon this point to Mrs. B., who said, “Women always sat up with women, and men with men. However, in old times, as soon as there was a death, the trombones sounded, as they do now, and the body was taken, when dressed, immediately to a small stone building

---

\* Perhaps these words mean caretaker of the sisters, caretaker of the brethren. If so, one should be written *Brüder-Pfleger*.

† A friend says, “*Schmaus*” is a vulgar term,—use “*Fest*.”

called the corpse-house, and here remained until the funeral.”\*

Mrs. — said that she lost her parents before she was three years old, and was taken into the sister-house, and her brothers into the brother-house. Even those who had parents living sometimes preferred to live in these buildings.

Some simple details of home-life were given to me by Mrs. C., of Bethlehem.

In their own family, in her youth, they rose about five, and breakfasted at six, usually on bread, butter, and coffee, perhaps with the addition of molasses. At nine they had a lunch of cold meat, pie, and bread and butter; and at a quarter before twelve came the dinner of meat and vegetables. Often they had soup. There was soup every day at the sister-house, and I was told that in cases of sickness it could be bought there.

“We always had pie for dinner. At two we had coffee and bread and butter. This was called vesper. At six was our supper of cold meat, bread and butter, and pickles. We always had pickles, and every day in the year we had apple-butter.”

Mrs. C.’s father was a miller, and perhaps lived

---

\* The corpse is sent to the corpse-house by some families, to this day.



more "full and plenty" than some of his neighbors.

She continued: "every Saturday, we baked bread, pies, and sugar-cake. We made a great many doughnuts, or *Fast-nacht gucke*." (Shrove-Tuesday pancakes, as we may say.) "We made crullers, and called them *Schtrumpf-bänder*" ("garters," doubtless from their form). "Nearly all our cakes were made from raised dough. One we called *Bäbe*. 'Snow-balls' were made with plenty of eggs, milk, flour, and a little sugar, and were fried in fat.

"At Christmas we always had turkeys; and then we baked a great supply of cakes, from four quarts of molasses and four pounds of sugar, and these lasted all winter. Then every evening before we went to bed we had Christmas cakes, sweet cider, and apples.

"The two o'clock vesper has generally fallen out of use, but if any one comes to town now that I want to invite, and it is not convenient to have them to dinner or supper, I say, 'Come to vesper.' Then we have coffee, and always sugar-cake."

"It would not be a vesper without the sugar-cake," said Mrs. C.'s daughter.

For a vesper-party for guests, Mrs. C. sets a table, and adds smoked beef, preserves, or anything that she chooses.

She further told me that her parents were

married by lot, and lived very happily, and she added that as far as we hear, and have seen, most of the pairs thus married lived happily. But the young people were dissatisfied with these marriages. Although the young man had the privilege of putting in the names of several whom he would like, yet if none of these were drawn he became discontented.

“Should a name be chosen that did not please the young man, I believe he had liberty to withdraw.\*

“In those times of strict rule, there was no opportunity for the young people of both sexes to become acquainted. This rule originated at Herrnhut. It was on account of it that an unmarried brother who worked in our mill was not allowed to sleep in our house, but must go every night to the brother-house to lodge until the rule was given up, about sixty years ago, and the brother was then allowed to sleep in the mill.”

While Mrs. C. was talking, her husband remarked that if he could find a town such as Bethlehem was in 1822 (when, if I remember aright, he had come to the place a stranger), he would go thousands of miles to get his family

---

\* Another person says, that if a man had no proposal to make, he left it to the authorities to suggest a woman; but the authorities never forced a woman upon him against his will.

there to live. The whole town, he said, was composed of Moravians, and was like one family, living well, all in comfort, plain in their dress, happy and contented with their lot.

#### OLD BUILDINGS.

The sister-house, the *Gemein-haus*, and the widow-house are still standing at Bethlehem, solid stone buildings with great roofs and dormer-windows. One of them has immense stone buttresses, and all are fitted to withstand the attacks of time. Their appearance, indeed, is becoming peculiar. The brother-house is still standing, but has disappeared from view as a separate structure, having been incorporated, as I have mentioned, in the young ladies' seminary.

The sisters' house is owned by the Board of Elders of the Northern Diocese of the Church of the United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) in the United States, and the apartments are furnished to the widows and daughters of servants of the church, rent free. Here live a number of persons, who generally occupy a room or two and keep house for themselves.

The corner-stone of the widows' house was laid in 1767. This conspicuous building has recently been purchased by a friend of the church. The apartments will be appropriated

free of rent to the widows and unmarried daughters of missionaries, ministers, and other servants of the church, including teachers in the seminaries.\*

The *Gemein-haus* (congregation's house) was used for the ministers' families, sometimes three or four, who resided in Bethlehem. It is no longer occupied by these, but by other members of the society. It adjoins the old chapel, where the preaching is in German. These old buildings, especially the widows' house, are in good repair.

One of the most striking circumstances connected with some of the old buildings at Nazareth is the account of the numbers of persons whom they are said to have once sheltered. The sisters' house is a large structure, but the brothers' house is so inconspicuous upon the street of the quiet little town, being, indeed, occupied as a store and dwelling, and probably sheltering not more than two families, that it is quite wonderful to hear tell of fifty persons having once had their homes in it.†

---

\* A lady whom I met at Nazareth spoke of the visits that she used to make in the widows' house, when they went at one, had vesper of coffee and sugar-cake at two, and left at five.

† Upon this passage, a friend makes the following remark: "Not regular occupants, but Moravian missionaries or strangers who might arrive in large bodies; twenty, I think, would be a large number."

Of one of the most noteworthy buildings at Nazareth I have already made mention. It was called Ephrata.\* The foundations were laid by Whitefield, the celebrated preacher, who bought five thousand acres in the forks of the Delaware, or where the Lehigh empties into that stream. This tract was afterwards bought by the Moravians. In 1744, thirty-three married couples from Bethlehem moved into this house.† In 1749, the “nursery,” of which I have before spoken, was removed here from Bethlehem. Recently this old building has been completely renovated, and the upper floor contains the collection and library of the Moravian Historical Society. The building is called the Whitefield-house, but it might still be called Ephrata, or a place of rest, for the lower part is a dwelling for retired missionary families. Only one family was there at the time of my visit, a widow with children. Little people were running about and laughing below, quite at home.

The “sustentation fund” of the Moravian church supports the “resting ministers” (such as the Methodists call superannuated ministers), the widows, and children of missionaries, etc.

---

\* *Ayfrahtaw* I heard this word pronounced.

† There were two log houses, says a friend.

## MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

An acquaintance said to me in Lancaster: "The people of Bethlehem are not Pennsylvania Dutch. They speak the high German." I think, however, that the younger people have acquired the Pennsylvania dialect. An elderly gentleman of Bethlehem, to whom mention was made of a work upon the "Pennsylvania Dutch," etc., replied in this manner (with a German accent): "We don't want to know anything about the Pennsylvania Dutch. We know enough about them already. We see enough of them on our farms."

It may be inferred from what has been said that the Moravians are persons of very considerable culture. I may go further, and speak of the thoughtful, spiritual expression of many faces.

As agriculture may be called the vocation of the Pennsylvania Germans in general, so education may be called the vocation of the Moravians.

To the support of the parochial school at Bethlehem I heard that about nine thousand dollars are annually appropriated from the income of the church property there. This enables those who have charge to put the terms of instruction very low. There are four dollars, or four to six, annually, for Moravian children.

The daughters of Moravian preachers are

entitled to four years' tuition in any of the young ladies' schools; either at the celebrated school at Bethlehem, or that at Litiz, Pennsylvania, at Salem, North Carolina, or at Hope, Indiana.\* Besides these institutions, there is a flourishing boys' school at Nazareth, and a college and divinity school at Bethlehem.

---

Very few of the Moravians here are engaged in agriculture. They have remained in towns, as it seems, and rarely or never become large and wealthy farmers; a circumstance that I do not comprehend. That religious scruples against the acquisition of wealth, or of individual property, have influenced their actions, I have not been able to discover.

---

I have not in my reports of aged citizens given them credit for the "orthodox" expressions which they used.

"The distinguishing feature of Moravian theology is the prominence given to the person and atonement of Christ."—*New American Cyclopædia*.

---

\* They not only receive tuition here, but board and clothing, and a similar privilege is extended to the sons of preachers.

I noticed at Bethlehem a sweet simplicity in speaking to or of the preachers.

A young man told me that Brother W. had sent him, and one of the sisters unaffectedly addressed a venerable bishop as Brother S. One of these gentlemen said to a person, not a member of his church, "Call me brother."

---

I have never heard Moravians call themselves Herrnhutters. The favorite name of their churchmen for their organization is *Unitas Fratrum*, or Unity of Brethren. A venerable preacher tells me that they have been called the *Johannische Gemein*, or community like St. John; or their view the *Johannische Auffassung*, or John-like expression, of the spirit of the gospel, especially as we read in the seventeenth chapter of John the prayer of Christ, "That they, Father, may be one, as we are one."\*

---

I conclude this sketch with an abridged passage from the Mission Report of 1872, an extract which may be interesting to thoughtful minds.

---

\* During the period of the anti-slavery agitation, preceding the war, the Moravians as a body did not take an anti-slavery stand. Their members were allowed to hold slaves, like those of almost all the other sects in this country. Their European brethren did not agree with them on this subject.



“The celebration of the centenary of the Labrador mission took place at all the six stations on the 5th and 6th of January, 1871. Some of the people assisted in decorating the chapels by fetching fir-tree branches, and making festoons. A number of welcome jubilee presents from the Ladies’ Association in London, and other sisters, were distributed, and the services closed with the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, a love-feast, at which printed odes were used, and a thanksgiving service. The brethren of Okak remark, ‘Stillness, not unusually a feature of festive seasons in Labrador, prevailed in a striking degree, and was to our minds more valuable as a proof of spiritual blessings enjoyed than the finest words could have been, especially as the Esquimaux have great readiness in using religious phrases.’”

---

NOTE.—Christianity was introduced into Bohemia and Moravia in the ninth century. It is claimed that the people of these countries, for several centuries, manifested in matters of faith the spirit of what was afterwards Protestantism. The most celebrated of their reformers was John Huss, who was burned, by order of the Council of Constance, in 1415. The Hussites separated into two parties, of whom the Taborites were defeated by the Calixtines in 1434, and the latter became the national church of Bohemia. A party among the remnant of the Taborites, dissatisfied with what they thought corrupt practices in this church, removed more and more from the Calixtine communion, and at length were permitted

to settle on the barony of Lititz. It is claimed that some, if not all, of these were men of God, who had not taken up arms during the war. They afterwards adopted the name *Unitas Fratrum*, or *Unity of the Brethren*. Their pastors were Calixtine priests who had joined the society. Such was the beginning of the Moravian Church. They obtained the episcopal succession from a colony of Waldenses, on the confines of Bohemia and Austria. Toward the year 1500 they had more than two hundred churches in Moravia and Bohemia, and had published a Bohemian Bible and several confessions of faith.

Their numbers and influence increased very much, and gradually the *Unitas Fratrum* was composed of three provinces, the Bohemian, Moravian, and Polish. But, in 1621, Ferdinand II. began a series of persecutions of all the Protestant denominations in Bohemia and Moravia, known as the anti-reformation. Protestantism was totally overthrown here, more than fifty thousand of the inhabitants having emigrated. In Poland, the Brethren's Church became united with the Reformed, and the *Unitas Fratrum* disappeared from the eyes of men, and remained as a "hidden seed" for ninety-four years. In Moravia many families remained, who secretly entertained the views of their fathers, and among these an awakening took place in the early part of the eighteenth century, through the instrumentality of a Moravian exile named Christian David. The desire to live in a Protestant country was felt more and more, and two families escaped in the night, and after eleven days safely reached Berthelsdorf, an estate in Saxony belonging to Count Zinzendorf, a pious young nobleman, who had offered them a refuge. Other Moravians joined them, and in a few years a colony of three hundred persons lived on Count Zinzendorf's estate. He himself soon relinquished all worldly honors, became a bishop of the brethren, and devoted himself entirely to their service

Nicolaus Ludwig, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, descended from a noble Austrian family, was born in Dresden,

in 1700. His father dying soon after his birth, his education was confided to his grandmother, the Baroness de Gersdorf, who had adopted the idea of Spener, the founder of the Pietists, of *little churches within the church*, having for their aim the promotion of piety and the purifying and sanctifying of the whole church.

The mind of Zinzendorf, when he was a mere child, took an enthusiastic direction, and he used to write letters to the Saviour and throw them out of the window, hoping that the Saviour might find them. At the university of Wittenberg, he applied himself, without direction or aid, to the study of theology, fully resolved to become a minister of the gospel. In 1722 he married, and about the same time gave some emigrant Moravian brethren permission to settle upon his estate of Berthelsdorf. In connection with some others, he labored to instruct them and their children. But it would seem, from subsequent circumstances, that he himself became, in some degree, their pupil.

They were not all agreed in religious opinions, and, with a view to unity, he formed statutes for their government. He was also appointed a warden of the congregation. In 1734, he went, under an assumed name, to Stralsund, and passed an examination as a theological candidate. The same year he received holy orders at Tübingen. On returning from Switzerland, in 1736, he met an edict forbidding his return to his native country, and repaired to Berlin, where, under sanction of the King of Prussia, he was consecrated bishop of the Moravian congregation, and from that time was always called the Ordinary of the Brethren. The order of banishment was repealed after eleven years.

Within this period he visited the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, where the Brethren had already established missions. He also came to Pennsylvania in 1741. He remained in this country two years, during which he was very diligently and successfully occupied. He also made several visits to Holland and England. He spent his latter years at Herrnhut, where he died. His remains were borne to

the grave by thirty-two preachers and missionaries whom he had reared, from Holland, England, Ireland, and North America, including Greenland. He wrote more than one hundred books. His son, who was an elder of the single brethren, died before his father. His son-in-law, the Baron de Watteville, was a bishop of the Moravian Church.

On the continent of Europe the Moravian system of the time of Zinzendorf is kept up in every respect. The governing board for the whole "Unity," or whole Moravian Church, meets at Berthelsdorf, in Saxony, in the castle once inhabited by Count Zinzendorf, who devoted his entire property to the good of the church.

A community of goods never existed at any time in a Moravian institution. The *Economie*, or *Economische Haushaltung* (Economical Household, or Common Housekeeping), seems to have existed for about twenty years, during the Indian wars, when the settlements of the Brethren at Bethlehem, etc., were feeble and exposed to attack.

The numerical force of the Moravians is not great. The number of communicants—home-communicants, if I may call them so—is 12,947 (estimate of 1859?), and over 53,000 mission converts, including baptized children. There are also as I understand, 80,000 "Diaspora members" on the continent of Europe; for which remarkable movement see the article *Moravians*, in *New American Cyclopædia*. See, also, the *Moravian Manual*. This historical sketch is drawn principally from these sources, and from the articles *Zinzendorf* and *German Theology* of the same Cyclopædia.

## SCHWENKFELDERS.

---

I HAD before seen the Schwenkfelders mentioned as a people who, like the Mennonites, Quakers, etc., are opposed to war, but I never became personally acquainted with them until the spring of 1873. At that time, a gentleman of West Chester advised me to inform myself concerning them, speaking of them as a delightful people. On arriving at Norristown, I therefore made inquiry about them from citizens of that borough, and was kindly furnished with several letters of introduction to members of the Schwenkfelder community living about seven miles north of the town.\*

It was about noon when the stage left me at the house of one who had formerly been a

---

\* A recent writer tells us that the upper, middle, and lower parts of Montgomery County, the lower end of Berks, and the south corner of Lehigh contain the only settlement of Schwenkfelders in the wide world. He adds that it is no misnomer to call these people the Pennsylvania German Quakers. It will be seen, however, that they are more ancient than George Fox.

preacher in the society. Here I dined, conversed with my host about his people, and looked at various large, old volumes which he showed to me. Then, having been supplied with an escort, I went to a house in the same neighborhood, the dwelling of an elderly brother, who had learned my errand, and had expressed a wish to meet me.

Under his hospitable care, I remained until Sunday evening; and he took me to the meeting-house, and to other places. Through him I also received a present of several books, giving the history and doctrines of the society.

On Sunday evening he took me to the house of another member, whose kindly care did not cease until he had conveyed me—on Monday morning—again to the borough of Norristown.

#### MEETING-HOUSE AND GRAVEYARD.

The church which I visited is in Towamensing Township, Montgomery County, and is one of six in Eastern Pennsylvania which hold all the Schwenkfelders now living. I was surprised to find the church in neat order and in good preservation, thus indicating no lack of vitality in this small, religious body, which, like a transplanted tree, has thrown out so few roots into adjoining soil. The plain meeting-house stood upon the edge of a wood; the graveyard was neat, and

was enlivened by the blossoms of the mountain pink,\* and the bright sunshine and tender green of May animated the scene.

Among the monumental stones was a rough one bearing this inscription only: "A. R. W. 1745." And this was, I believe, the oldest here. Of nine years' later date was a gravestone, still unhewn and irregular in shape, but with a longer inscription: "Psal. 90 v. 7. Baltzer Anders, Gestorben 1754, 56." The passage cited from the Psalms is the text of the funeral sermon. The rest we may translate: "Balthazar Anders. Died 1754, at the age of 56."

At the date 1762 we find a carved marble head-stone, but no showy monuments have been erected here. One of the more modern stones says: "Rosina Kribelin, geb. Hübnerin, alt 27 Jahr 5 monat,"—or "Rosina Kribel, born Hübner, aged twenty-seven years and five months;" the feminine termination *in* being added to both the names.†

Inscriptions older than these may be found at the meeting-house in Lower Salford Township, and one of them goes to a somewhat greater length in honor of him for whom it was erected. Trans-

---

\* *Phlox subulata*.

† This feminine termination has not disappeared from the dialect. In Note I., at the close of this volume, it will be found that Mr. Rauch speaks of "de olt Lawbucksy," which is rendered, old Mrs. Lawbucks.

lated it reads thus: "In memory of George Weiss, was born in Silesia, and first teacher of the Schwenkfelder community in Pennsylvania; died the 11th of March 1740, 53 years old."

(The word teacher means preacher.)

Within the meeting-house there were inclosed benches, or open pews; the pulpit and the ends of these benches upon the aisle being painted white. The men sat upon one side of the house, the women upon the other; the women removing their bonnets and wearing caps. These caps were not severely plain, like those of the Mennonites, etc., but were trimmed with white satin ribbon.\*

The Schwenkfelder women bent the knee at the name of Jesus, but this observance has fallen into disuse among the men.

Before the morning service there is school, in which the children are taught from the Catechism and Testament; the Catechism containing the Apostles' Creed. On Sunday afternoon, a school is held in which the children are taught to read the German language, in which tongue the church exercises are conducted.† The Schwenk-

---

\* The decline in the severity of the cap seems to have reached its lowest point among the Moravians, where but few women in this country wear caps in church. See "Bethlehem and the Moravians."

† At Flourtown, or Chestnut Hill, the English language is used, and there is no instruction in German.



felders claim to have been among the earliest to establish sabbath-schools, but their school is of later date than that of Ludwig Hoecker.\*.

During service, the pulpit or desk was occupied by three preachers. The oldest had a fine countenance, forehead, and coronal region of the head. The youngest, a very solid-looking, fair-haired man, read a portion of Scripture, and *read* a prayer.† Singing accompanied these exercises, and then a few extemporaneous remarks were made by the youngest preacher; the open Bible lying before him, upon which his eyes were cast. The oldest preacher spoke at length, and was followed by the third, who wore a heavy black beard.

The ministers of the Schwenkfelders, like those of our similar sects, are unsalaried and without special theological training.

## BOOKS.

I have mentioned that he whom I first visited brought out a number of large books for me to examine. They were all in the German language.

The first bore title, "The first part of the Christian, orthodox book, of the man noble,

---

\* See article "Ephrata."

† It appears that there was also extemporaneous prayer during the exercises.

dear, and highly favored by God, Caspar Schwenckfeldt." The volume was a folio; the place of printing not given; the date 1564. It is embellished by a large plate, which apparently represents Christ with Death and Satan under his feet. Below, upon the left, is a man in a furred robe kneeling, with the motto, "Caspar Schwenckfeldt von Ossing. Nil Christo triste recepto" (or, "If I have Christ, nothing makes me sad"). On the right is a troop of similar appearance, with the motto, "And the fellow-believers of the glories and truth of Jesus Christ."\*

Another ancient folio, bound in parchment, with brazen clasps, tips, and bosses, was said to be a volume of Schwenckfeld's letters. There is no place of printing; the date is 1570. The same plate as the preceding. These epistles, says my host, are upon the popish doctrine and faith.

The third folio was of the same date, 1570, and was in a splendid state of preservation. This contains letters (discourses?) upon the Lutheran doctrine, with which Schwenckfeld did not agree.

Two of the folios brought out by my host

---

\* I am somewhat at a loss to know why Schwenckfeld is not spoken of by the title *von Ossing*, as we read of Ulrich von Hütten, German scholar and reformer.

were manuscripts, bound in leather, with brazen clasps. One of them had the great number of thirteen hundred and three pages, very neatly written in the German hand. It contained the sermons, "*Postilla*," of Michael Hiller, preacher at Zobten, in Silesia, who "disappeared in God" in 1554; written and collected by Nicholas Detschke, 1564, and now written anew, 1747. I did not find the name of the copyist.

Although my host told me that he had never been in Quaker meeting in his life, yet I found among his books a history of the rise, etc., of the Christian people called Quakers, originally written in Dutch by William Sewel, and by himself translated into English, from English translated into German (*Hochdeutsch*), 1742. This is Sewel's History, one of the most celebrated of the Quaker books.

At the second house which I visited there lay in the window-seat several books in German. One was a large copy of the Scriptures, a clasped volume, with many plates. Lying loose in it were two plates of Caspar Schwenkfeld, in his furred robe, with beard descending upon his breast, and his motto (already given) in German: "*Wenn ich Christum habe, so bin ich nicht traurig*"; or, "If I have Christ, I am not sorrowful". In selecting this motto, he may have had reference to his exiled condition.

(There seems to be among the Schwenkfelders

much more regard than among most of our plain Pennsylvania Germans for the pictures, the "counterfeit presentments," of men.\*)

The volumes given to myself, while among these people, are :

1. Schwenkfeld's *Erläuterung* or Explanation, concerning many points in history and theology. Not written by their leader himself, but composed by several of the "godly exiles from Silesia to Pennsylvania." An appendix contains, among other matter, a sketch of the life of Schwenkfeld, and an account of the journey of the Silesian emigrants from Altenau to this State. Of this volume I have made much use.†

2. Questions on the Christian Doctrine of Faith, for Instructing Youth in the First Principles of Religion. By the Rev. Christopher Schultz, Sen. My copy is a translation.

3. Constitution of the Schwenkfelder Society, subscribed in 1782, etc.

---

\* In using the name Schwenkfeld, I have abbreviated it a little, giving it as it is in the New American Cyclopædia. That book, however, calls him Von Schwenkfeld, which will be observed to be an error. The Cyclopædia, in speaking of his writings, some ninety treatises, says that they are regarded as one of the most valuable sources of the history of the Reformation.

† A copy of this volume will probably be deposited for reference in the library of the German Society, Philadelphia.

## HISTORY.

In the year 1490, seven years after the birth of Luther, two years before the discovery of America by Columbus, and one hundred and thirty-four before the birth of George Fox, was born in Silesia,\* in the German or Austrian empire, Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossing, of a very old and noble extraction. His brother-in-law is mentioned as Conrad Thumb von Neuburg, hereditary marshal of the principality of Würtemberg. Caspar Schwenkfeld was a person of very handsome mien, dignified behavior, remarkable modesty, courtesy, and gentleness, accompanied by godliness, and fervency in prayer, and was of a Christian, pure, and temperate life. It is added that thus much even his bitter enemies must acknowledge, "as the clergy know."† In his youth he studied two years at Cologne, and lived several years at other universities. He at length became well-read in the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers. He was also many years in the confidential ser-

---

\* That portion of Silesia which was the home of the Schwenkfelders lies east of Saxony, the home of Count Zinzendorf. It was conquered by Frederick the Great, and added to Prussia.

† The clergy, *die Gelehrten*. Although some of the doctrines taught by George Fox seem to have been given before him by Schwenkfeld, yet were these not previously taught among the Anabaptists, and possibly among the Waldenses?

vice of his liege lord, the Prince of Liegnitz (the Duke of Liegnitz?). Afterwards "God touched his heart," and he turned away from his life at court, and became a teacher at St. John's church, in Liegnitz. He diligently read the writings of Luther and of others who were leaving the papacy, and he afterwards remarked that he had been as good a Lutheran as any. With the fiery reformer he, however, differed greatly afterwards; the first cause of difference being, as it appears, Luther's views upon the Supper. Schwenkfeld says that the Lord Jesus had shown to him that he was not a bodily bread, but a spiritual and heavenly one.

Schwenkfeld also wrote a little work upon the misuse of the sacraments, which, without his knowledge, was printed in Switzerland. Here-upon Dr. Faber, bishop at Vienna, represented to the emperor, Ferdinand, that Schwenkfeld held false doctrines concerning the sacrament of the Supper, etc.; and Ferdinand was himself angry because his enemies had published the book. The emperor (or, as he is called, the king) wrote to the duke at Liegnitz, to punish Schwenkfeld, but as his innocence was known to the duke, this prince thought it well that Schwenkfeld should ride away for awhile.\*

---

\* *Erläuterung.*—Schwenkfeld appears to have abstained from the sacraments for a great part of his life,—from the outward forms, at least, as we may be allowed to add.

He did ride away in 1529, but, although he lived for thirty-three years after, he never rode back again.

He traveled to many places in Germany, and was prized and heard at many noble courts. Many times he stopped in cities of the empire, and suffered much opposition from the preachers.

A letter of pardon was sent to him by the emperor, Ferdinand, saying that if he would recall his opinion, and act differently, he should receive his knightly possessions; but, as already stated, he never returned to Silesia.

During his life he published ninety-two treatises, and after his death many of his books were published by his fellow-believers. All his writings were forbidden to be printed by the Papists and Lutherans, and in different places his writings were burnt, "nevertheless God has given means for several of these books to be published four or five times."\*

Many years after the publication of his little work, before spoken of, upon the misuse of the sacraments, Schwenkfeld sent to Luther a number of his own works, and called Luther's attention to one of his favorite doctrines, "the glory of the manhood of Jesus Christ." To the noble

---

\* The three folios before spoken of in this article were published within ten years after his death, and it seems possible that the place of printing was omitted on account of the opposition to his works.

messenger who bore the letter, etc., Luther returned an answer, speaking in severe and ignominious terms of the author, reproaching him with having kindled a fire in Silesia against the holy sacrament, and with his Eutychianism, as Luther calls Schwenkfeld's doctrine that the manhood of Jesus Christ is no creature.\*

It was not the desire of Schwenkfeld to build up a sect of his own, nor did he judge any congregation already collected, but he exhorted all to pray in spirit and in truth in all places. He is said to have directed men only to Christ and his power, and to have filled, until his death, the office of a true, evangelical preacher.

Before he departed, we read that he heard a voice, "Up, up into heaven!" which voice he had heard also before he rode out of his fatherland, saying, "Up, up out of the fire!" (His hearing had failed nearly forty years before his death.)

Not long before dying he said, "Now home; home into the true fatherland."

"He died in God, and went home to his rest," in the city of Ulm, in 1562.†

---

\* In the New American Cyclopædia Schwenkfeld is said to have differed from Luther and others upon the deification of the body of Christ. In the latter part of this essay this point is spoken of again.

† Ulm, a town in Würtemberg, on the left bank of the Danube. It was long an imperial free city.



Nearly three hundred years after the birth of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossing, the first Schwenkfeld congregation was organized; he was born in 1490, it was formed in 1782. It was upon the new continent discovered by Columbus, in the English colony of Pennsylvania, that a little band of exiled Schwenkfelders formed this society, and not until they had sojourned here nearly fifty years. How were they able to continue Schwenkfelders, during the period of more than two hundred years, between the death of their founder and their organization here?\*

In Silesia the ruling church was Roman Catholic, but the Lutherans were generally tolerated. The Lutheran preachers, coming into contact with the Schwenkfelders, were often hostile and unfriendly to them; but the final self-banishment of the Pennsylvania colony was owing to the rigorous measures taken by the Jesuits for their conversion.†

---

\* This title was probably not in former times their chosen name. In a little inartistic aria, near the close of the Explanation, they are twice called *die Stillen*, or the quiet ones. Looking in the German dictionary for this word, I find "*die Stillen*" is rendered Quakers. In the same aria they are called *die Friedlichen*, or the peaceful ones.

† As in the principality of Lower Silesia Lutheran preachers had been installed in nearly all the offices, many of the common people who had accepted Schwenkfeld's teachings stood back in stillness, not being able conscientiously to

In one of the persecutions of earlier times, we read of a certain Anthony Oelssner, who was called to strengthen the scattered faithful, about the year 1580; in which call he showed great diligence in prayer and preaching, until he was seized and lay imprisoned awhile at Liegnitz. Afterwards he was imprisoned at Löwenberg, in the tower, where he suffered almost the same strong temptations of Satan as we read in the lives of the fathers that old Anthony did, from which he was happily set free, as he writes in a long letter. One of his letters is from the lowest dungeon at Vienna, where he lay among thieves and malefactors.

He was also dragged about in the trenches and galleys,\* all which he bore without a murmur, and met his persecutors with cheerfulness, encouraging the faithful by letters when he did not lie in dungeons too dark, or when ink, paper, etc., were not denied him. Of these writings a great part is still extant.

Certain of the Schwenkfelder prisoners, it

---

agree with these teachers. This was very offensive to the parsons, and they soon made use of their high dignity against tender consciences to force such persons to their means of grace,—to make them come to the baptismal font, to the pulpit, and the altar.—*Schwenkfeld's Explanation*, chap. iv. The Schwenkfelders express the opinion that the action of the Lutheran clergy, in calling attention to them, frequently caused their persecution by the Catholic authorities.

\* Digging trenches for military defence, and working the galleys or great boats of the Mediterranean.

seems, were sent upon the galleys to the Turkish war. "In taking the castle Gran, in 1593, they were obliged to go before the soldiers, through a narrow street; but they never killed a Turk, nor stained their hands with the blood of men (as is proper for the soldiers of Christ)."\*

Another sufferer, old Martin John, tells how, when he lived at Kaufig, he beheld the godless lives of the priests, how they loaded themselves with eating and drinking, avarice and gaming, dancing and debauchery, and produced uproar in the beer-houses, and made a nine-pin alley, and played together in the parsonage yard.† "And I thought that I could not any longer approve their godlessness. I was thus induced to stay at home, and read to my wife and children, and call them to repentance. Then the priest ran to my landlord,‡ and complained of me; but he would not listen, and I was left in peace for a year. Then my old master died, and his son, to please the godless preacher, drove me from my paternal inheritance." The priest was named George M., and this was in 1584.

---

\* They do not seem to have been very profitable as soldiers. One man can lead a horse to water, but several cannot make him drink.

† Nine-pins are not the climax of wickedness, friend Martin John.

‡ *Herrschaft*. The narrative is condensed from the Explanation.

Martin John also says that the priest made jest of the Holy Ghost, saying, "Thou wilt have to wait long before the Holy Ghost will come and teach thee."

Martin tells further, that he found a property cheap at Armenruh; but there he saw the same manner of life. "I did not have to go far, but heard in my own yard how the priest fiddled, and the rest danced and cried out, and found it much worse than in my own (former) home. So I stayed at home, and read, prayed, and sang, and other people came to hear. Then the priests ran to our landlords, and we were put into prison, where I was kept over four years, and the others over a year, and to these nothing was given to eat nor to drink."

These cases of persecution all took place within fifty years after the death of Schwenkfeld, and seem to have befallen those who lived around the Spitzberg, in Lower Silesia; but in Upper Silesia, and in the district of Glatz, there was repose; and towards the end of the sixteenth century persecution appears to have declined, for *we do not find that any one writes letters from prison.*

During the Thirty Years' War the Schwenkfelders, like others who opposed the Romish Church, did not remain undisturbed. Once during this period complaint was made of them to the prince at Liegnitz, but they sent to him one of Caspar Schwenkfeld's books, which he

graciously received, and permitted them to hold meetings in their houses. Meetings in the open air were forbidden by the emperor.\*

At the close of the war they were again persecuted, the preachers complaining of them to the nobility. But the prince at Liegnitz set them all free, and allowed them to worship again in their houses.

Simple religious services, formerly held among the Schwenkfelders, are thus described.†

If any one had books and read on Sunday, the others went and listened. But this was the order: in the morning, after each prayed when he rose, they came together. (Elsewhere it is stated that they were generally fasting.) They sang morning songs standing; afterwards prayed out of a prayer-book; then all, standing, sang prayer-songs, especially to the Holy Spirit; they also sang sitting, and prayed; and then read several sermons; then prayed again and sang a couple of songs; then ate dinner. Afterwards prayed again standing, and sang prayer-songs; afterwards read till towards evening; then standing prayed and sang. That was the order on Sunday.

---

\* Mention is made of the time when the destroyer came upon the destroyer because his measure was full,—namely, the Thirty Years' War, and the banishment of the Lutherans from the imperial dominions.

† See Explanation. The above is slightly abridged.

And if, in week-time, the people came together at a spinning (*beym spinnen*), then there was almost always singing, and when they would go home they knelt down together and prayed.

In coming down to the year 1730, we read that there being no longer any great persecution, the zeal of most began to be extinguished; the young people liked to go to church, especially at Harpersdorf, where there was beautiful music. Some dreaded contempt; some, it is said, found freedom to live in sin, for if they only went to the Supper they might live as they pleased, and receive a beautiful funeral sermon; many left on account of a marriage. Thus the Schwenkfelders greatly declined.\*

---

\* Hence we may infer that the Schwenkfelders forbade marriages with those not of their own persuasion. During the period of their troubles it seems that marriage by the church was at times refused them, no doubt from their refusing the sacrament. Maimed funeral rites were also among the persecutions of which they complained. In speaking thus of their decline, they may, however, over estimate their numbers in former times.

The following characteristic sketch may be introduced here nearly in the words of the original: The two pastors in Harpersdorf having been called to a new church, there came as pastor Herr John Samuel Neander (the pastor Neander who died in July, 1759). He was by nature a very fiery man, so that he hardly knew how to govern his passions; by birth a Brandenburger, from Frankfort on the Oder. When he was installed, the Herr Superintendent in Liegnitz brought before him that he was a stranger, and therefore he might

It was somewhat before the date above given, or in the year 1719, that the celebrated Jesuit mission came among the Schwenkfelders; that is, by imperial decree, there arrived two missionary priests. In 1721, the Schwenkfelders sent delegates to the emperor, craving further indulgence.

While the missionaries were trying to make them Catholic, the Lutherans offered protection to those who should join them; but a few ("a little heap") remained true, without falling off on either side. Of the delegates sent to the emperor, two remained in Vienna five years, and found him not ungracious. He ordered that time should be taken for further consideration.

During this time the mission was taking severe measures, with fine and imprisonment. No Schwenkfelder was to be buried in the churchyard, but upon the cattle-paths (highways?), and

---

not know how it was in Harpersdorf, that there was a people there, who had already lived there about two hundred years, called Schwenkfelders. Therefore he would give him good advice, that he should leave these people in peace; preceding pastors had tried it enough, and had accomplished nothing by force. But if he thought he could not endure these people, he should say so, and another would be put into the place.

But Herr Neander promised everything good, and did not keep to it. For soon after entering upon his office he gave out that he had sworn to bury none of the Schwenkfelders as before practiced, and this he began to carry out. See Explanation, chap. v.



none should accompany them to burial,—but this they could not prevent.\* None should be married who did not promise their offspring to the Catholics, which none would do; therefore many marriages were postponed for long years. On the contrary, when the new Lutherans (converts) were buried there was a great parade and procession, and a great throng at weddings. At length, in 1725, a severe edict was issued to oblige old and young to attend the mission teachings, and the Schwenkfelders were threatened with being fastened to wheelbarrows,† and with having their children taken away.

Now when affairs had come to an extremity, they heard that they might flee for awhile to an honorable senator in Gorkitz, and also to his excellency Louis, Count of Zinzendorf, and Lord of Berthelsdorf;‡ and in 1726, and afterwards,

\* The aria already alluded to says :

“Throw their dead away, like foul corruption,  
The cow-path is too good; don't tread upon the grass;  
The father shall not follow the body of his child,  
Nor the wife accompany her husband to the house of death.”

The word that I have translated cattle-path, etc., is *viehweg*. A note upon this verse of the aria says: “1722. Three hundred persons lie upon the cow-paths at Harpersdorf and Langneudorf.” If so many were buried during the time of the Catholic mission, these people must have been numerous.

† *Schüßkarren*.

‡ Zinzendorf's estate of Berthelsdorf was, it seems, near the town of Gorkitz.



several families broke off by night, and in great danger, leaving their estates and property behind. More followed, and as they could better earn a living in the villages,\* the greater part went to Berthelsdorf, and enjoyed protection there for eight years. But while living here in all stillness, in 1733, Zinzendorf informed them unexpectedly that they were no longer to be tolerated in Saxony. In this matter they suspected the influence of the Jesuits with the elector. (Zinzendorf himself was banished from 1736 to 1747.†)

One year was allowed them before removing, and, after looking elsewhere, they concluded to come to Pennsylvania. In 1733 a couple of Schwenkfelder families had come hither,—and, as they say, “Our faithful friends in Holland advised us strongly to go.” About forty families, therefore, began the journey in the latter part of April, 1734, and cast anchor at Philadelphia on the 22d of September. “There, by the praiseworthy constitution of the country, we were made citizens, and partakers of all civil and religious freedom.”

After this flight the missionaries continued their efforts in Silesia, and several more families fled and came to Pennsylvania. In 1740 an

---

\* By agriculture? rather than in the town of Gorlitz.

† See “Bethlehem and the Moravians.”

imperial command was issued, that the Schwenkfelder heresy must out. Now were they greatly urged to join the Lutherans for their protection; and now, in houses, two were against three, and three against two, and a man's foes were those of his own household. At last, the greater part went over to the Lutheran Church. However, in the following autumn, the emperor died, and Silesia was soon after conquered for Prussia, by Frederick the Great.

All the Roman Catholic offices were then vacated, and Pater Regent, one of the mission, "retreated after us into Saxony; and other instruments sought shelter out of the country. The books of which we were robbed by the doctors and their followers were, we heard, taken to Liegnitz; and as for the homes and goods we had left behind, they had helped themselves to them, which is all one to us. We hope their enjoyment of them will be as profitable to them as the abandoning of them has been to us."

In 1742, or eight years after the principal migration to Pennsylvania, the King of Prussia published an edict in favor of freedom of conscience, inviting the exiled Schwenkfelders to return to his duchy of Lower Silesia, or to dwell in any other part of his possessions. No further persecution afflicted these people, but they have become extinct in Europe, the last having died in 1826.

## THE JOURNEY TO AMERICA.

When these wandering people no longer found a place of refuge in Saxony, in April of 1734 about forty families began that journey to Pennsylvania already spoken of. This was completed in September, in a period of about five months. An account of this long voyage is given at the close of the book already often referred to, the *Erläuterung*, or Explanation.

In Altona (near Hamburg), during a stay of eleven days, they received great hospitalities from the Herren v. Smissen, father and son.

On arriving at Haarlem (from some of whose citizens they had received contributions while still in Saxony), they could not enough admire the common joy and proofs of love with which they were received. The brothers Abraham, Isaac, and Jann v. Byuschause were especially kind, entertaining them with flesh, fish, all kinds of vegetables, beer, coffee, and tea, and besides the children were daily presented with all kinds of baked gingerbread and such things.\*

---

\* The word translated vegetables is *Zugemüsse*; that translated gingerbread is *Pfeffer-kuchen*, or pepper-cakes. Peppernuts are now made in Lancaster County,—a delicate cake, as I have seen them, somewhat resembling jumbles. If plainer they would be like the New England cookies. Cooky comes from the German *kuchen*?

In Allentown, a young gentleman tells me that the people

As regarded the journey of the exiles to America, the Herren v. Byuschaue had made an agreement with the captain at their own expense.

Two days' journey from Holland (perhaps this must be understood, from some Dutch port), Gregory Meschter was presented with a healthy little son. Fifteen days they lay at Haarlem, and at Rotterdam, on the 21st of June, they went on board the English ship *St. Andrew*, Capt. Stedman commander. While they lay still one week on board this vessel, "God gave David Schubert a young son."

On the 28th they left Rotterdam. On the 16th of July, six Palatinate women and two men fought each other, and she who began it received her deserts.\*

At Plymouth, England, which they left on the

---

of Lehigh County, all through, eat Schwenkfelder cake. "Our mothers made them for us. They are a kind of vesper cake, or rusk baked in a loaf." In Allentown the name is sometimes pronounced Schwinkfelder.

\* No one should confound these emigrants from the Palatinate with the Palatines for whom William Penn desires the friendship of the Indians. See "Swiss Exiles."

The numerous refugees from the Palatinate probably came from different motives; some for religious freedom, and some to earn their bread.

Many German emigrants were redemptionists,—i.e. they sold their time to pay for their voyage. Of this class, we learn, was an ancestor of the late John Covode. See Simon Cameron's speech in Congress, on the death of Covode.

29th, a rich woman gave the whole ship's company one hundred and twenty-five shillings, and when it was divided each person received four and a half stivers, English. (The stiver is a Dutch coin of the value of one English penny, or two cents in our money.)

On the 9th of August, a Palatinate mother and daughter fought each other. On the 10th, a great fish was seen, which spurted water on high powerfully, as if out of pipes. (Our inland Silesians were not familiar with whales.)

A number of children and several grown persons died upon the sea. On September 22d, "God be forever thanked," the anchor was happily cast before Philadelphia, and guns were fired. On the 23d, all males over sixteen had to go to the court-house to take the oath of fidelity to the King of Great Britain. "We Silesians, as on account of conscience we could not swear, were readily excused, and were allowed to promise faith by giving the hand."\*

#### THE ANNIVERSARY OR YEARLY MEETING.

I asked a Schwenkfelder, "What are the exercises of your commemorative festival?" He answered, "It is a day of thanksgiving to God,

---

\* *Mit einem Handschlage.*

that we live under a free government, where we can serve him according to our conscience."

An animated description of the day has been given by the Rev. C. Z. Weiser, in the *Mercersburg Review*. This article, although apparently not quite true to history, and though written in a peculiar style, has a sprightliness which interests the reader.\*

Mr. Weiser tells us, that whoever is not providentially prevented is bound to attend their yearly reunion. Nor has it been found necessary thus far to enter an urging statute to secure the presence of the fraternity. The "seeding" is done, the corn stands in shocks, and the farm-

---

\* Mr. Weiser tells us, in speaking of the Schwenkfelders, that on a late occasion, having heard that the tombs of their ancestors, near Liegnitz and Gorlitz, were fast being desecrated, and the earth, with their very dust, carried away for road-making purposes, their Pennsylvania posterity collected a handsome sum and forwarded it to the authorities, with a view of purchasing the grounds, and having them set apart and inclosed as the burying-ground of the Silesian Schwenkfelders. It is not believed, however, he adds, that their moneys were appropriated to the laudable end which they had in view.

This narrative might apply to those Silesians who were buried upon the cow-paths (Mr. Weiser says, taken to the carrion pit or bone commons), but how can it apply to them after they had taken refuge at Gorlitz?

Mr. W. tells us that Schwenkfeld's remains were buried in a wine-cellar, under a corner house on Market Street (Ulm), which is possible. The account of the anniversary is nearly in Mr. Weiser's own language.

work of September is timely put aside, in order that all may participate in the memorial ceremonies of the 24th with a light, gay, and thankful heart.\* It is on the day and day before that you may feast your eyes on many a well-laden carriage, the horses all in good condition, moving on towards one of the Schwenkfelder meeting-houses, selected in rotation, and one whole year in advance.† The aged and infirm of both sexes stay not behind. The young men and women are largely and promptly there. The fathers are similarly enough clad to be considered uniformed. So too are the mothers arrayed in a manner very like to one another, with snow-white caps and bonnets that never vary. The sons and daughters do indeed not love the habits of their elders any the less, yet only the wicked world's a little more.‡

The morning service opens at nine o'clock, and is filled out with singing, praying, and recitals of portions of their ancestral history. All is gone through with in the Pennsylvania German

---

\* It has been estimated that ninety-five in one hundred of the Schwenkfelders are farmers.

† The next annual meeting will be in Towamensing Township, Montgomery County.

‡ In the Rules and Ordinances of the Schwenkfelder community may be found this passage: "Yet a Christian places no holiness in wearing the oldest fashioned clothes; he also takes care not quickly to ape all new fashions, much less does he make it his business to bring up new ones."



dialect, but withal reverentially, solemnly, and earnestly, just as though it were newly and for the first time done.\*

At twelve o'clock, the noonday feast is set. This is the feature of the day. It consists of light and newly-baked rye bread, sweet and handsomely printed butter, and the choicest apple-butter.† Nothing beyond these is set, but these are of the first water. The bare benches, but lately occupied by devout worshippers, serve as tables, along which the guests are lined out. Not in silence, nor in sullenness, do they eat their simple meal, but spicing it with cheerful talk, they dine with hearts full of joy. Still, you need fear no profane utterance or silly jest. They are mindful of the spirit of the occasion, of the place in which they congregate, and of the feast itself, which the singing of some

---

\* Mr. Weiser speaks as if the singing was in the dialect. The following is a copy of some lines which were sung at their meeting-house when I attended, from which the student of German may observe the quality of the language, and the theologian may notice, as it seems to me, two or three of their peculiar doctrines:

“Jehovah, Vater, Sohn, und Geist!  
O Segens Bronn, der ewig fleuszt;  
Durchfleusz Herz, Sinn und Wandel wohl,  
Mach uns dein's Lob's und Segens voll!”

† Wheat bread is now used. At a Schwenkfelder house I ate apple-butter, sweet, because made from sweet apples, and seasoned with fennel, of which the taste resembles anise.



familiar hymn has consecrated. If any one thirst, let him drink cold water.

And now think not that they feign simply to eat and drink,—that the meal from first to last is but a poor pretense. A full and hearty dinner is “made out” there. It is a bona fide eating and drinking that is done in the meeting-house of the Schwenkfelders on their *Gedächtniss Tag* (anniversary). They are all hard-working men and women,—farmers and farmers’ wives and farmers’ children. They are sunburnt, healthy, and hungry besides. And why should they not relish the sweet bread, with their sweet butter and apple-butter, then? Even strangers who attend and are hospitably entertained by the society show that one can make a full hand, even at such a table.

At two o’clock the tables become pews again, and the afternoon exercises are conducted according to the programme of the morning. These concluded, a general invitation is again extended to partake of the baskets of fragments gathered up and stored away in the rear of the meeting-house. A fraternal hand-shaking closes the anniversary for the year. The reflection that many part now who may never meet again on earth causes tears to trickle down some furrowed cheek, which generally prove more or less contagious, as is always the case in a company of hearts, when those tears flow in sincere channels.

Hence, though all were happy all day long, they now feel sad.

To appreciate the meaning and spirit of this apparently homely scene, it is necessary to know that it is a memorial service all through. It was on this very 24th of September, 1734, that some seventy [forty] families of Schwenkfelders, who had landed on the 22d, and declared their allegiance on the 23d, held their thanksgiving service, in gratitude to God for a safe deliverance to the colony of Pennsylvania. They had arrived in the ship *St. Andrew*, at Philadelphia, as fugitives from Silesia.

Poor, but feeling rich in view of their long-sought liberty, they blessed God in an open assembly. We may judge their store and fare to have been scant and lean indeed; and to perpetuate the original service of their forefathers from generation to generation, they stately celebrate their *Gedächtniss Tag*.

The poor fare before them is finely designed to impress the sore fact of their ancestors' poverty indelibly upon their minds, memories, and hearts. They eat and drink in remembrance of former days,—the days of small things. They join thereto at the same time a gladsome worship, in thankfulness for the asylum opened up for them from their former house of bondage, and which proved so fair a heritage to their people ever since.

## CUSTOMS.

A lawyer of Norristown tells me that he taught a subscription school among the Schwenkfelders, some thirty years ago, and a day or two before the school closed he sent out his bills by the scholars. Every cent of the money due was paid in on the next morning,—and as he was then poor this was a delightful and memorable circumstance.\*

Further, I find it laid down as a rule of their community that members must see to it that their debts are paid without legal proceedings.

Another instance of exactness in money matters is given in their history, namely, that while they were sojourning with or near Zinzendorf, some of their well-wishers in Holland sent to them a considerable contribution in money, of which they knew nothing until the merchants of Gorlitz announced and paid it to them. By their diligence in labor, and their skillful use of this money, they were able to supply the pressing wants of their poor, and to pay the expenses of the same to Altona. On their arrival at Haarlem, a little that remained was laid at the feet of their noble benefactors.†

---

\* Before public schools were established the Schwenkfelders had a fund for the education of their poorer members.

† “Which these ordered back into our fund, to supply the wants of the poor, when we should arrive at Philadelphia.”

I met with a young Dunker woman, in the neighborhood of the Schwenkfelder community, who said, "The poor always find their way to the Schwenkfelders;" and on my mentioning this subject at one of the houses which I visited, my host told me of persons having come to his house asking "how far they had to the Schwenkfelder *Thal*" (or valley).

The language spoken at two of the houses which I visited was almost entirely the Pennsylvania German; but my ignorance of the dialect forbids my knowing whether these Silesian emigrants speak it differently from the south German Palatines.

My power of talking German was perhaps never more exercised in the same length of time than during my visit here; the women and children in the houses alluded to speaking no English. In the second, the mother, who was in delicate health, had been reading German books, but was unable to read English. A like circumstance is certainly very uncommon, if not unknown, among the "Dutch" of my own county.

Neither does there appear to be the same objection to education there that exists among some of our people here. One of the Schwenkfelders said to me that he told his boys to learn as much as they can; "I'd not seen a man yet that had been too wise; and the girls may do

the same." He also told me that they do not neglect to teach the children in their family to read and write German, a custom which tends to preserve the purity of the language.

The Schwenkfelders find it difficult to preserve a knowledge of German, since the language is no longer taught in the public schools in their neighborhoods.

Like Quakers, Dunkers, etc., the Schwenkfelders have an unpaid ministry. One whom I met, who had been a preacher, cultivated fourteen acres of ground, and joined to this labor the mechanical occupations of making brooms and cigar boxes. I said to one of the society, "You do not pay your ministers?"

"No," he answered, "but they are excused from all church expenses, such as the treasury for the poor, and building and keeping in repair our meeting-houses. Then, as one minister will be a farmer and another a mechanic, and one is called upon to leave his shop and the other his farm to attend funerals, we generally make such a one a present.

"It has been at times the case that presents have been offered to men in good circumstances, who would answer, thanking the giver, but they had no need of the gift; if at any other time it should be necessary they would accept it."

Candidates for the ministry are elected by ballot; the votes being collected in a hat. Women

do not vote, and of course they do not preach. If the candidates when elected prove to be "men of able tongues," they are confirmed. Formerly the Schwenkfelders did not vote for preachers, but it seemed to them that the right kind did not come forward, and those who did come forward were not always desirable persons.

The sacraments of baptism and the supper have never been held among them.\* A modern custom, originating in this country, and established in 1823, has thus been described: After the birth of a child, it is brought by the parents into church, and a preacher prays for the happiness and prosperity of the child, and admonishes the parents to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to the will of God. Then there is prayer, and the singing of some appropriate verses. If the child or mother is delicate, this service is sometimes performed at their house.†

Not only are the Schwenkfelders forbidden to become soldiers, but also to train in military exercises. Upon this point, however, the late

---

\* It is probable that baptism will be introduced, but only optionally.

† Mr. Weiser tells us that a mother whose adult daughter entered the Reformed Church, by baptism, earnestly protested against the performing of the sacrament over her, on the ground that "prayers were had for their child in the meeting-house."

rebellion seems to have tried some of their members, as it did some Quakers.

"Do you bring lawsuits?" said I to a member.

"Not if we can help it. I never brought a lawsuit, nor had one brought against me, and hope I never shall."

## DOCTRINES.

In plainness of speech, behavior, and apparel, in opposition to war, to oaths, and to a paid ministry, in a belief in the teachings of the Divine Spirit and in the inferiority of the written word to the indwelling Spirit, in discarding religious forms, in opposition to priestcraft or a hierarchy, and, although not practicing silent worship, yet in their desire to live "in the stillness," the Schwenkfelders resemble Quakers. We might almost say that they are Quakers of an older type (Quakers it may be of whom George Fox had never heard?). They differ from Quakers in employing stated prayers, in electing preachers, in not acknowledging the spiritual equality of women, and in their peculiar doctrine of the "glory of the manhood of Jesus Christ,—how it is no creature."\*

We give from the Explanation some striking

---

\* Mr. Weiser says, "In general terms it may be said that Caspar Schwenkfeld has been the George Fox of Silesia, or the veritable George Fox, perhaps somewhat educated and sublimated." (An instance of the looseness of language.)

extracts upon some of these points. Upon the word of God, Schwenkfeld and Illyricus had a violent contest. Schwenkfeld holds that the tables upon which God writes, and the book or paper upon which man writes, are entirely two kinds of thing: between all printed and written books in the world and the true word of God a fundamental difference is to be maintained. The word is a living, internal, spiritual word, and can only be contained in the book of the believing heart.\* Faith existed many hundred years before the Scripture. It proceeded from the eternal Word or Son of God, Jesus Christ, and from God, the All-powerful.†

Against what are called "the means of grace" Schwenkfeld preached. (Spiritual things, it is said, come not through canals.) Schwenkfeld maintained that Christ is only to be sought above with the Father, and thence we must all draw that which will make us upright and blessed. This was also recognized by the leaders who came out from the papacy; but there came a

---

\* A note says, "No one can deny that at last all books must perish, but the word of the Lord endureth forever."

† On his death-bed Schwenkfeld declared that he believed that all in the Old and New Testament was profitable for salvation to the elect; that he was certain that his own writings, if read impartially, and after prayer, agreed with Holy Scripture, but he must acknowledge to the praise of God that they proceeded more from gracious revelation.



time when they taught that Christ and salvation were to be found below in external works and worship. But Schwenkfeld neither could nor would admit that Christ and the Holy Spirit were in outward works of preaching and hearing and in elements of this earthly existence, in water, bread, and wine.\*

On baptism we find the following : The first and most eminent work of the sacrament of baptism is, the internal grace of inworking faith in the love of God, which moves, glows, and lives through the outpouring of the heavenly waters which flow from the Word of God, which is Christ. The other point is the external word and water which is outwardly poured upon and washes the body outwardly as the internal does the soul.

John the Baptist says, "I baptize with water to repentance, but he who comes after me will baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." Here he distinguishes the work of the minister from the office of the Lord, and the visible water from the Holy Spirit.

Ambrose says, "Peter has not purified, nor Ambrose, nor Gregory, for ours is the ministry, but thine, Lord, are the sacraments. It is not the work of man to give divine things, thine is

---

\* See the Explanation, chap. x. These passages in general are greatly abbreviated, or are picked out, I may say.

it, Lord, and the Father's, who says through the prophets (prophet), I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh."

That the subject of the Holy Supper is especially weighty may be judged by the agitations on account of it, and by the fact that on this account many thousands in many lands have been killed and burnt. And this was the article upon which the Reformers, with their gloriously begun work, fell to pieces. Upon this article Luther renounced his friendship to Schwenkfeld, and they publicly differed.\*

Schwenkfeld thought that when they came out from the papacy they should preach the gospel in its purity, instruct old and young in the catechism, and earnestly pray until they could come to the right use of the sacrament. . . . Whereby whole parishes, towns, and countries should not at once be taken up, as if fit for the table of the Lord. But it should be held with those who received the word, and in whom there were tokens of amendment, whether these were only Caleb and Joshua. Schwenkfeld declared that he had no command to establish the sacraments, but his command had been to spread the gospel and point every man to Jesus Christ. "But we are comforted that we are instructed by God and from the Holy Scrip-

---

\* Explanation, chap. xi.

ture that our soul's salvation is necessarily placed on no outward thing, but that one thing is needful." (Luke x.) "But we pray the Lord Jesus Christ that he will reveal a right use of the sacraments, and himself establish them. We strive, moreover, to hold his supper daily with the Lord Christ, in the spirit of faith." (Rev. iii. \*) But though Schwenkfeld did not feel called upon to establish the sacraments, there is nothing in the catechism of the society opposed to the external rites.

The twelfth chapter of the Explanation, containing nearly eighty pages, is devoted to Schwenkfeld's peculiar doctrine, of which I shall content myself with the heading of the chapter, as follows: "Of the divine Sonship and glory of the Manhood of Jesus Christ, that the same is no creature, but extinguished in the Transfiguration,† and changed into the God-head."

To one passage in the Catechism I would like to call attention:

*Question.*—How did God reveal himself in an external manner?

*Answer.*—First, when God, by his almighty

\* The passage alluded to is doubtless this: "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."

† *Verklärung.*

word, framed the universe, by which he has shown how great, almighty, wise, and good he is.\*

And now may we not also rest our souls upon these expressions from the constitution of the Schwenkfelder society, translated almost literally?

“In the nature of God, we first perceive love as that noble and outflowing power which binds God and men together. . . . If the society build upon this fundamental part of the divine nature, namely, love, then their only immovable aim will be, first, the glory of God, and second, the promotion of the common weal of every member.”

---

\* The thoughtful reader may perhaps find something in this answer to contrast with these passages from the decrees of the late Ecumenical Council at Rome:

“If any one shall say that human sciences ought to be pursued in such a spirit of freedom that any one may be allowed to hold as true their assertions, even when opposed to revealed doctrine, and that such assertions may not be condemned by the church, let him be *anathema*. If any one shall say that at any time it may come to pass, in the progress of science, that the doctrines set forth by the church must be taken in another sense than that in which the church has ever received and yet receives them, let him be *anathema*.” Quoted from a report of a dogmatic decree on Catholic faith, confirmed 1870.

## A FRIEND.

---

ABOUT twenty miles from the State line that divides Maryland and Pennsylvania, there stands, in the latter State, a retired farm-house, which was erected more than fifty years ago by Samuel Wilson, a Quaker of Quakers.

His was a character so rare in its quaintness and its nobility, that it might serve as a theme for a pen more practiced and more skillful than the one that now essays to portray it.

Samuel Wilson was by nature romantic. When comparatively young, he made a pedestrian tour to the Falls of Niagara, stopping upon his return journey, and hiring with a farmer to recruit his exhausted funds; and when he had passed his grand climacteric, the enthusiasm of his friendship for the young, fair, and virtuous, still showed the poetic side of his character.

Veneration induced him to cherish the relics of his ancestry,—not only the genealogical tree, which traced the Wilsons back to the time of William Penn, and the marriage certificates of his father and grandfather, according to the reg-

ular order of the Society of Friends; but such more humble and familiar heirlooms as the tall eight-day clock, and the high bookcase upon a desk and chest of drawers, that had been his father's, as well as the strong kitchen-chairs and extremely heavy fire-irons of his grandfather.

To this day there stands at the end of the barn, near the Wilson farm-house, a stone taken from one of the buildings erected by Samuel's father, and preserved as an heirloom. Upon it the great-grandchildren read nearly the following inscription:

"James Wilson, ejus manus scripsit. [His hand wrote.] Deborah Wilson, 5 mo. 23d, 1757."

Samuel Wilson, having been trained from his earliest years to that plainness of speech in which the Discipline requires that Friends bring up those under their care, not only discarded in speaking the simple titles in use in common conversation, but did not himself desire to be addressed as Mr. Wilson.

A colored woman, the wife of one of his tenants, said that he refused to answer her when she thus spoke to him.

A pleasant euphemism was generally employed by these people in addressing him. He and his wife were "Uncle Samuel" and "Aunt Anna" to their numerous dependents.

The apparel of Samuel and Anna was of the strict pattern of their own religious sect. To employ a figure of speech, it was the "wedding-garment," without which, at that time and place, they would not have become elders in their society, and thus been entitled to sit with ministers, etc., upon the rising seats that faced the rest of the meeting.

But the plainness of Uncle Samuel was not limited to the fashion of his own garments. When Aunt Anna had made for her son a suit of domestic cloth, dyed brown with the hulls of the black walnut, and had arrayed him in his new clothes, of which the trousers were made roomy behind,—or, as the humorist says, "baggy in the reverse,"—she looked upon him with maternal pride and fondness, and exclaimed, "There's my son!"

For this ejaculation she was not only reproved at the time by her husband, but in after-years, whenever he heard her, as he thought, thus fostering in the mind of their dear child pride in external appearance, he repeated the expression, "There's my son!" which saying conveyed a volume of reproof.

From this and other circumstances of the kind, it may be supposed that Friend Wilson was a cold or bitter ascetic. But he possessed a vein of humor, and could be gently and pleasantly rallied when he seemed to run into ex-

tremes. But, though his intellect was good, the moral sentiments predominated in his character. His head was lofty and arched. His wants were very few; he possessed an ample competence, and he had no ambition to enter upon the fatiguing chase after riches. He disliked acquisitive men as much as the latter despised him. "I want so little for myself," he said, "I think that I might be allowed to give something away."

Sometimes—but rarely—a little abruptness was seen in his behavior. He had the manners of a gentleman by birth,—tender and true, open to melting charity, thinking humbly of himself, and respecting others.

The vein of humor to which I have alluded prompted the reply which he made on a certain occasion to a mechanic or laboring man employed in his own family. In this section of Lancaster County the farming population is composed principally of a laborious and in some respects a humble-minded people, who sit at table and eat with their hired people of both sexes.

The same custom was pursued by Samuel and Anna; but, as their hired people were mostly colored, they sometimes offended the prejudices or tastes of many who were not accustomed to this equality of treatment, which was maintained by several families of Friends. The white hired



man to whom I have alluded, when he perceived who were seated at the table, hesitated or refused to sit down among them. As soon as Samuel was conscious of the difficulty, for which indeed his mind was not unprepared, he thus spoke aloud to his wife: "Anna, will thee set a plate at that other table for this stranger? He does not want to sit down with us." And his request was quietly obeyed. The man who was thus set apart probably became tired of this peculiar seclusion, for he did not stay long at the Quaker homestead.

I think that Samuel was also in a humorous mood when he called that unpretending instrument, the accordeon,—from which his daughter-in-law was striving one evening to draw forth musical sounds,—“Mary’s fiddle.” But, indeed, he left the house and went to call upon a neighbor, so greatly did he partake of that prejudice which was felt by most Friends against music.

The Discipline asks whether Friends are punctual to their promises; and (to quote a very different work) Fielding tells us that Squire Allworthy was not only careful to keep his greater engagements, but remembered also his promises to visit his friends.

Anna Wilson on one occasion having thoughtlessly made such a promise,—as, indeed, those in society frequently do when their friends say, “Come and see us,”—was often reminded of it

in after-years by her husband. When he heard her lightly accepting such invitations, he would reprove her by saying in private, "When is thee going to see Benjamin Smith?"—the neighbor to whom the ancient promise was still unfulfilled.

The hospitality which the Scriptures enjoin was practiced to a remarkable degree by Samuel and Anna. It has always been customary in their religious society to entertain Friends who come from a distance to attend meetings, and those traveling as preachers, etc. But the Wilson homestead was a place of rest and entertainment for many more than these. It stood not far from the great highway laid out by William Penn from Philadelphia westward, and here called the "Old Road." Friends traveling westward in their own conveyance would stop and refresh themselves and their horses at the hospitable mansion, and would further say to their own friends, "Thee'd better stop at Samuel Wilson's. Tell him I told thee to stop." A further and greater extent of hospitality I shall mention hereafter.

The Discipline asks whether Friends are careful to keep those under their charge from pernicious books and from the corrupt conversation of the world; and I have heard that Samuel Wilson was grieved when his son began to go to the post-office and take out newspapers. Hith-

erto the principal periodical that came to the house was *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, a little paper issued by that pioneer, Benjamin Lundy, who was born and reared in the Society of Friends. It does not appear, however, that the class of publications brought from the little village post-office to the retired farm-house were of the class usually called pernicious. They were *The Liberator*, *The Emancipator*, and others of the same order.

Samuel himself became interested in them, but never to the exclusion of the "Friends' Miscellany," a little set of volumes containing religious anecdotes of Friends. These volumes were by him highly prized and frequently read.

It has been said that he was a humorist; and perhaps he was partly jesting when he suggested that his infant grand-daughter should be named Tabitha. The mother of the little one, on her part, suggested Helen.

"He-len!" the grandfather broke out in reply; "does thee know who *she* was?" thus expressing his antipathy to the character of the notorious beauty of Greece. He did not insist, however, on endowing the precious newly-born infant with that peculiar name which is by interpretation Dorcas, the name of her who, in apostolic times, was full of good works and alms-deeds.

Friend Wilson shared the Quaker disregard for the great holidays of the church. To the

colored people who surrounded him, who had been brought up at the South, where Christmas is so great a festival,—where it was so great a holiday for them especially,—it must have been a sombre change to live in a family where the day passed nearly like other working-days. One of the colored men, however, who had started at the time of the great festival to *take Christmas*, was seen, before long, coming back; “for,” said he, “Massa Wilson don’t ’prove on’t nohow.”

Among the lesser peculiarities of Samuel Wilson was his objection to having his picture taken,—an objection, however, which is felt to this day by some strict people belonging to other religious societies, but probably on somewhat different grounds.

One who warmly loved and greatly respected Friend Wilson took him once to the rooms of an eminent daguerreotypist, hoping that while he engaged the venerable man in looking at the objects around the room, the artist might be able to catch a likeness. But Samuel suspected some artifice, and no picture was taken. Some time after, however, the perseverance of his friend was rewarded by obtaining an excellent oil-painting of the aged man, from whom a reluctant consent to sit for his likeness had at length been obtained. It was remarked, however, that the expression of the face in the painting was sorrowful, as if the honorable man was

grieved at complying with a custom which he had long stigmatized as idolatrous,—as idolatry of the perishing body.

Although at the time of the great division in the Society of Friends Samuel Wilson had decidedly taken the part of Elias Hicks, yet was he seldom or never heard to discuss those questions of dogmatic theology which some have thought were involved in that contest.

Samuel probably held, with many others of his Society, that the highest and surest guide which man possesses here is that Light which has been said to illumine every man that comes into the world; that next in importance is a rightly inspired gospel ministry, and afterward the Scriptures of truth. One evening, when certain mechanics in his employ were resting from their labors in the old-fashioned kitchen, he fell into conversation with them on matters of religion, and shocked one of his family, as he entered the sitting-room, by a sudden declaration of opinion. It was probably the uncommon warmth of his manner which produced this effect, quite as much as or more than the words that he spoke, which were nearly as follows: "There's no use talking about it; the only religion in the world that's worth anything is what makes men do what is right and leave off doing what is wrong."

As far as was possible for one with so much fearless independence of thought and action,

Samuel Wilson maintained the testimony of Friends against war. Not only did he suffer his corn to be seized in the field rather than voluntarily to pay the military taxes of the last war with Great Britain, but he went to what may appear to some a laughable extreme, in forbidding his young son's going to the turnpike to see the grand procession which was passing near their house, escorting General Lafayette on his last visit to this country. He was not, however, alone in this. I have heard of other decided Friends who declined to swell the ovation to a man who was especially distinguished as a military hero. But we shall see hereafter that Friend Wilson met with circumstances which tried his non-resistant opinions farther than they would bear.

The distinctive trait of his character, however,—that trait which made him exceptional,—was his attachment to the people of color. It was in entertaining fugitives from slavery that he showed the wide hospitality already referred to; and in this active benevolence he was excelled by few in our country. He inherited from his father this love of man; but I have imagined that the hostility to slavery was made broad and deep in his soul by removing, with the rest of his family, in his youth, from Pennsylvania into Delaware, and seeing the bondage which was suffered by colored people in the latter State contrasted with

what he had seen in the former. Be that as it may, no sooner was he a householder than his door was ever open to those who were escaping from the South, coming by stealth and in darkness, having traveled in the slave States from the house of one free negro to another, and in Pennsylvania from Quaker to Quaker, until in later times the hostility to slavery increased in our community so far that others became agents of this underground railroad, and other routes were opened.

When the Wilson family came down in the morning, they saw around them these strange sable or yellow travelers ("strangers," they were called in the family), who, having arrived during the night, had been received by some wakeful member of the household.

What feelings filled the hearts of the exiles! Alone, at times, having left all that they had ever loved of persons or of places, fearful, tired, foot-sore, throwing themselves upon the charity and the honor of a man unknown to them save by name and the direction which they had received to him, as one trustworthy.

Sometimes they came clothed in the undyed woolen cloth that showed so plainly to one experienced in the matter the region of its manufacture,—the heavy, strong cloth which had delighted the wearer's heart when he received the annual Christmas suit with which his master



furnished him, but which was now too peculiar and striking for him safely to wear. Women and children came too, and sometimes in considerable numbers.

When they had eaten and partaken of the necessary repose, they would communicate to Friend Wilson, in a secure situation, some particulars of their former history, especially the names and residences of the masters from whom they had escaped.

Some years after he had begun to entertain these strangers, Friend Wilson commenced a written record of those who came to him, and whence and from whom they had escaped. This list is estimated to have finally contained between five and six hundred names.

The next care was to bestow new titles upon the fugitives, that they might never be known by their former names to the pursuer and the betrayer.

From what has been already said, it may be supposed that these names were not always selected for their euphony or æsthetic associations. One tall, finely-built yellow man, who trembled when he was questioned in the sitting-room, lest his conversation about his old home and the free wife whom he longed to have brought to him, should be overheard in the kitchen, expressed to me his dissatisfaction with his new name—Simon. "I never knowed anybody named that,"



he said. His beautiful bright wife—bright in the *colored* sense—that is, bright-colored, or nearly white—was secretly and safely brought to him, and nursed him through that fatal disease which made him of no value in the man-market,—the market which had been the great horror of his life. The particulars Friend Wilson collected concerning his humble charge the venerable man entered in his day-book, in a place especially assigned to them. If this record were still existing, I should, perhaps, be able to tell what name the fortunate and unfortunate Simon had been obliged to renounce. This record, however, is lost, as I shall mention hereafter. If the services of any of these fugitives were needed, within-doors or without, and the master's pursuit was not supposed to be imminent, they were detained for awhile, or perhaps became permanent residents in the neighborhood; otherwise, they were forwarded at night to Friends living nearer Philadelphia. Of these, two other families willing to receive the poor exiles lived about twelve miles farther on.

The house and farm were generally pretty well stocked with colored people, who were a wonder to the neighbors of the Wilson family; for these were in a great measure "Pennsylvania Dutch,"—a people anxious to do as much work with their own hands and by the hands of their own family as possible, in order to avoid expense.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, although Samuel Wilson during thirty years or more entertained the humble strangers, and although he received so large a number, only one of them was seized upon his "plantation" and taken back to slavery. This was owing partly to the secluded situation of his house, and partly to the prudence and discretion that he exercised. "He was crafty," it has been said.

Neither did he suffer any legal expenses, such as lawsuits, from the slaveholders who came in pursuit of their fleeing bondmen. Two friends who lived not far from him, and who prosecuted kidnappers, had their barns burned, and others, of whom he had knowledge, suffered great pecuniary loss in consequence of their assisting runaway slaves. He, however, limited his care to receiving, entertaining, and forwarding those who came to him in person, and never undertook any measures of offense,—any border raids, so to speak,—such as sending secretly into Maryland and Virginia for the relatives and friends of fugitives who were still living in those States as slaves. The one person of whom I have spoken, who was recaptured from the Wilson farm, was a young girl of fifteen or sixteen. Samuel and Anna were absent from home at the time, gone on a little journey, such as they frequently took, to attend their own monthly and quarterly meetings; assisting to preserve the discipline and

order of the Society of Friends. The men who came in pursuit of the young girl told her that her friends, who had run away too, had concluded to go back South again; and the poor child, under these circumstances, could hardly do anything but go with the beguilers; not, however, to find the friends whom she expected.

There was also a man who was very near being taken,—a man who had “come away,” to use the brief euphemism sometimes employed in the Wilson family in speaking of fugitives from slavery. He escaped by having gone down the creek or adjacent mill-stream to set his muskrat-traps. This creek where it ran by the house was well wooded; therefore the colored man, looking up to the house, could see the white strangers without being seen himself. With what trembling did he see that they were persons whom he “knowed in Murrland,” as he expressed it! However, the friendly woods sheltered him, while Samuel at the house was talking with the slaveholder or his agents,—kidnappers, as the Wilsons called them.

The men told Samuel that they had come after a runaway nigger,—black, five feet ten inches high, lost one of his front teeth, etc. To this description Friend Wilson listened in silence. I do not know what he would have done had he been directly questioned by them, for the different items suited him of the muskrats,—the man

who had gone to the woods. But during Samuel's continued silence they went on to say, "He's a very ornary nigger; no dependence to be placed on him nohow." "There is no man here," rejoined Samuel, greatly relieved, "that answers the description." "We've very good reason to think he came here," said one; "we got word very direct; reckon he's lyin' around here. Hain't there been no strange nigger here?"

"There was a colored man here, but he has gone away; I don't know as he will ever come back again." For, from the man's protracted absence, he doubtless had some idea of his having seen his pursuers, and having sought shelter.

"Tell him that his master says that if he will only come back again, down to Baltimore County, he sha'n't be whipped, nor sold, nor nuthin', but everything shall be looked over."

"I'll tell him what you say," said Samuel, "if ever I see him again; but," he added, regaining his accustomed independence, "I'll tell him, too, that if I was in his place I'd never go back to you again."

The men left, and under cover of the friendly night the fugitive sought a more secure hiding-place.

There was one heroic black man in whom Samuel Wilson felt an abiding interest. When Jimmy Franklin told the tale of his perilous

escapes and recaptures in the States of Maryland, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida,—when he showed the shot still remaining in his legs—shot that had been fired at him as he ran, and, working through to the front, were perceived through the skin, like warts upon his legs,—the lads of the family looking and listening had their sympathies enkindled in a such a manner as could never entirely die out. One of them, in after-years, was asked :

“How does thee account for that man’s persistent love of freedom? What traits of character did he possess that would account for his doing so much more than others to escape from the far South?”

“I don’t know,” was the reply, in the freedom of familiar conversation. “What was the reason that Fulton invented his steamboat? or that Bacon wrote his System? or that Napier invented logarithms?”

“This man was a genius,—a greater man in his way, than those I spoke of. If he had had education, and had been placed in circumstances to draw him out, he would have been the leader in some great movement among men.”

The narrative of James Franklin was written by a dear friend of him whom I call Samuel Wilson, but is supposed to have been burned when the mob destroyed Pennsylvania Hall.

It was in relation to these fugitives that Sam-

uel sometimes forgot for awhile his strictly peaceful principles; for there were to be found among the men of color those who could be induced to betray to the pursuers their fugitive brethren, giving such information as would lead to their recapture; or, if they should escape this, to their being obliged to abandon their resting-places and to flee again for safety.

It was in talking of some such betrayer that Samuel Wilson said to his colored friends, "What would you do with that man, if you had him on Mill-Creek bridge?" (a lofty structure by which the railroad crossed the adjacent stream,) thus hinting at a swift mode of punishment, and one that might possibly have been a fatal one.

Though with an unskilled pen, yet have I endeavored to describe that quiet family among whom the fugitive-slave law of 1850 fell like a blow. Samuel Wilson had ample opportunity to study its provisions and its peculiarities from the newspapers of which I have before spoken, and from the conversation which these journals called forth.

This horrible act gave the commissioner before whom the colored man was tried five dollars only if the man went free from the tribunal, but ten dollars if he was sent into slavery. Hitherto, men had suffered in assisting the fugitive *to escape*; now it was made a penal offense to

refuse to lend active assistance in apprehending him.

Friend Wilson had read much of fines and imprisonment, having studied the sufferings of the people called Quakers. (Even a lady of so high a standing as she who became the wife of George Fox, was not exempt from many years' imprisonment, nor from persecution at the hands of her own son.) Friend Wilson was about seventy-five years old when the fugitive-slave bill was passed. In spite of his advanced years, however, after sorrowful reflection upon it, he said to one of his household, "I have made up my mind to go to jail."

That hospitality and charity which had so long been the rule of his life he was not now prepared to forego through fear of any penalties which the law would inflict upon him.

It was while suffering from the infirmities of advanced years, and from the solicitude which this abominable enactment had called forth, that Samuel destroyed the record which he had kept for so many years of the slaves that had taken refuge with him. This record was contained in about forty pages of his day-book, and these he cut out and burned. How would they now be prized had they not thus been lost!

Samuel Wilson saw, with the prophetic eye of faith and hope, what he did not live to behold in the flesh,—the abolition of slavery. His mor-

tal remains repose beside the Quaker meeting-house where he so long ministered as an elder. No monumental stone marks that humble resting-place; but these simple lines of mine, that portray a character so rare, may serve for an affectionate memorial.



## COUSIN JEMIMA.

---

“WELL, Phebe, I guess thee did not expect me this afternoon. Don’t get up. I will just lay my bonnet in the bedroom myself. Dinah Paddock told me thy quilt was in; so I came up as soon as I could. Laid out in orange-peel! I always did like orange-peel. Dinah’s was her-ring-bone; and thine is filled with wool, and plims up, and shows the works, as mother used to say. I’ll help thee roll before I sit down. Now then. Days are long, and we’ll try to do a stroke of work, for thee’s a branch quilter, I’ve heard say.

“Jethro Mitchell stopped to see me this morning. They got home from Ohio last week, and he says that Cousin Jemima Osborne’s very bad with typhoid fever. Poor Jemima! It had been pretty much through the family, and after nursing the rest she was taken down. I almost know she has no one fit to take care of her,—only Samuel and the three boys, and maybe some hired girl that has all the housework to do. The neighbors will be very kind, to be sure, sitting

up nights; but there's been so much sickness in that country lately.

"Jemima was Uncle Brown Coffin's daughter, thee knows, who used to live down at Sandwich, on the Cape, when thee and I were girls. She always came to Nantucket to Quarterly Meeting with Uncle Brown and Aunt Judith; and folks used to say she wasn't a bit of a coof, if she *was* born on the Cape. When Samuel and she were married, they asked me and Gorham Hussey to stand up with them. Jemima looked very pretty in her lavender silk and round rosy cheeks. When meeting was over, she whispered to me that there was a wasp or bee under her neck-handkerchief that had stung her while she was saying the ceremony. But I don't think anybody perceived it, she was so quiet. Poor dear! I seem to see her now on a sick-bed and a rolling pillow.

"After my Edward died, I was so much alone that I thought I couldn't bear it any longer, and I must just get up and go to Ohio, as Samuel and Mima had often asked me to. I stopped on the way at Mary Cooper's at Beaver; and Mary's son was joking a little about Cousin Samuel's farming, and said he didn't quite remember whether it was two or three fences that they had to climb going from the house to the barn-yard. I told him that Samuel wasn't brought up to farming; he bought land when he moved out West.

“I found Jemima a good deal altered, now that she had a grown family; but we just began where we left off,—the same friendliness and kindness. When I was in Ohio was just when the English Friends, Jonathan and Hannah Purley, were in the country. We met them at Marlborough Quarterly Meeting. We were all together at William Smith’s house,—one of the neatest of places,—everything like waxwork, with three such daughters at home. How they worked to entertain Friends!

“First-day a great many world’s people were at meeting on account of the strange Friends. Meeting was very full,—nearly as many out in the yard as in the house. Very weighty remarks were made by Jonathan and Hannah. She spoke to my own state:—‘Leave thy widows, and let thy fatherless children trust in Me.’ The meeting was disturbed some by the young babies; but we could hardly expect the mothers to stay away.

“Second-day was Quarterly Meeting. Of course the English Friends, being at William Smith’s, drew a great many others. We had forty to dinner. One of William’s daughters stayed in the kitchen, one waited on the table, and one sat down midway, where she could pass everything, and wait on the Friends. It was in the Eighth Month, and we had a bountiful table of all the good things of that time of year,—

vegetables and fruit too. William was a nursery-man.

“There was a little disturbance at breakfast, William’s son—a rather wild young man—making the young people laugh. We had fish,—mackerel, and little fresh fish out of the mill-dam. I sat near the middle, and heard Friend Smith at one end say to each, ‘Will thee have some of the mackerel, or some of these little dam-fish?’ Then young William, at the other end, spoke low to his friends: ‘Will thee have some of the mackerel, or some of these dam little fish?’ But most of the young women kept pretty serious countenances. When Quarterly Meeting was over, the English Friends went out to Indiana, visiting meetings and Friends’ families, and I went back with Cousin Samuel’s.

“I was dreadfully disappointed once. One evening Samuel and Mima and the rest of us were sitting round the table, and Samuel put his hand into his coat-pocket and drew out the paper and two or three letters. As he read, I noticed that one of the letters had not been opened, and caught sight of my name—Priscilla Gardner; so I put out my hand and took it. It was from sister Mary,—just as James and she were starting for California. She told me that they should stay in Pittsburg over one night, and she hoped I should be able to meet them

there and bid them a long farewell. But when I looked again at the date of the letter, and glanced at the paper that Samuel was reading, I found that my letter was ten days old. The time had gone by. Oh, dear! I walked out into the kitchen and stood by the stove, in the dark, and cried. Some one came up behind me. Of course it was Jemima. She kissed me, and waited for me to speak. I gave her the letter, and in about ten minutes I felt able to go back to the sitting-room. When I sat down, Samuel said, ‘Mima tells me, Priscilla, that thee is very much disappointed about thy letter. I had on this coat when I went to the post-office a week ago, and I didn’t put it on again till to-day. I hope thee’ll excuse me. Thomas, my son, will thee bring us some red-streaks? I feel as if I could eat a few apples.’

“I felt sorrowful for some time about my sister; but my mind was diverted when we got word that the English Friends were coming to our Monthly Meeting on their way back from Indiana; and as we lived very near the meeting-house, of course they would be at Samuel’s. As the time came near, Jemima and I were a good deal interested to have things nice. They were going to be at William Smith’s again, where everything was so neat, and I felt very anxious to make everything in-doors, at Jemima’s, as nice as we could.

“In the sitting-room was one empty corner, where the great rocking-chair ought to stand. It was broken, and put away in the bedroom. I wanted very much to have it mended; but it seemed as if we could not get it to Salem. One time the load would be too large, another the chair would be forgotten. At last one day it was put in the back of the covered wagon, and fairly started. When Samuel got home it was rather late in the evening, and I heard him say to Mima, ‘Only think of my forgetting thy large chair. I was late starting from home, thee knows; and when I got to Salem there was a good deal of talk about the war; and when I got half-way home I remembered the big chair in the back of the wagon. It can go in next week.’ We did send it again, but it did not get home before Monthly Meeting.

“Jemima had a very neat home-made carpet on the sitting-room: she had a great taste for carpets. As there had been some yards left, she let me cover the front entry too, and her youngest son Edward, a nice lad, helped me put it down. A little colored girl, near by, rubbed up the brass andirons for us, and Edward built up a pile of wood ready to kindle the fire when it was wanted. A good many panes of glass had been broken, and as we had just had an equinoctial storm, some old coats, and so on, had

been stuffed in at several places ; but we managed to get most of the glass put in before Monthly Meeting.

“ When we had done all we could to the house, of course we began to think of the cooking. Jemima said, ‘ I sha’n’t be able to get Mary Pearson to come and cook : she is nursing. I wonder whether I hadn’t better heat the oven on meeting-day. I can get the dinner in before I go ; and then between meetings I can run over and see to it. I shall hardly be missed. I can slip in at the side-door of the meeting-house before Mary Ann has done reading the Minutes.’ — ‘ Then thee will heat the oven ? ’ said I. — ‘ I reckon,’ she said ; ‘ but it is only a mud oven. Samuel has been talking for a good while about having a brick oven. This one is not very safe.’ — ‘ Suppose I make a little sponge-cake, and put it in too,’ said I. ‘ I’ll send for some sugar, if thee is willing. Polly Evans used to call me a dabster at sponge-cake.’

“ Jemima was willing, and we began to get ready to go to the store. Edward and the little colored girl hunted the barn and the straw-shed, and brought in a quantity of eggs. All could not be sent, because we needed some at home, and some had been set on, and some had lain too long. Then Jemima sent to the garret for brooms and rags, and spared a little butter too

for the store,—not much, to be sure, when Monthly Meeting was coming. I thought I might as well ride over with Edward; and when we had got coffee, and tea, and so on, and were just starting home, I caught sight of some lemons. I bought a few, and when I got home asked Jemima if she would not like some lemon-puddings. ‘Thy apple-pies and rice-puddings are nice, dear,’ I said; ‘but Hannah Purley and Jonathan are such strangers, we might go a little out of the common way.’ Jemima smiled at my being so anxious, but agreed, as she generally did.

“Fourth-day morning we were up very early. Jemima was going to roast some fowls and a loin of veal. Edward and the little colored girl helped me to beat eggs, grate lemons, and roll sugar; and everything was ready for the oven before the Friends came in from a distance, who always stopped before meeting to get a cup of tea.

“We had a nice little table for them, of course,—dried beef, preserves, and so on; and one woman Friend, a single woman, asked for a warm flat-iron to press out her cap and handkerchief. At last we were ready to start. Jemima had set everything into the oven, which stood out in the yard. She put the meats back, and the cakes and puddings near the door, where



it was not so hot. 'The door isn't very safe,' said she, 'and I propped a stick against it to keep it up. Don't let the dog knock it down, Susan, while we are gone.'

"The day was beautiful; all signs of the storm over, except the roads a little muddy; and as we stepped over to the meeting-house Jemima whispered, 'I am glad I told Susan to set both tables. I think we shall have a good many to dinner. I wanted cole-slaw, like Pennsylvania folks, but the cows broke in last night and ate all the solid cabbage.' She did not talk of these things generally going into meeting; but our minds were very full.

"First meeting was rather long, for several Friends spoke besides the strangers. When it broke, Jemima stepped out, and I quietly followed her. We walked over to the house, and round into the side-yard, going toward the oven. But just as we had got into the yard we saw the old sow. She had broken out of the barn-yard, and had been wallowing in a pond of brown water near the fence. Now she had knocked down Jemima's stick, and as the door fell I guess she smelt our good things, for she had her fore-feet upon the oven floor. We ran and screamed, but she did not turn. She made a jump up to the oven, over my cakes and puddings, the veal and chickens, and carried the

oven roof off with her. Oh, dear! oh, dear! poor Jemima! I could laugh too, if it wasn't so dreadful."

*Reader.*—And what did they do then?

*Writer.*—The best that they could. I do wonder at Jemima, poor thing, to undertake so much on Monthly Meeting day.

## NOTES.

---

### NOTE I.

THE most elegant specimens of Pennsylvania German with which I have met, are the poems of the late Rev. Henry Harbaugh; but, as the English words introduced by Mr. H. have since been in general replaced by German, the poems are not a perfect specimen of the spoken language.

Mr. Harbaugh says, in his poem of Homesickness, or Heimweh,—

“Wie gleich ich selle Babbie-Beem!  
Sie schtehn wie Brieder dar;  
Un uf'm Gippel—g'wiss ich leb!  
Hockt alleweil 'n Sehtaar!  
'S Gippel biegt sich—guk, wie's gaunscht,  
'R hebt sich awer fescht;  
Ich seh sei rothe Fliegle plehn  
Wann er sei Feddere wescht;  
Will wette, dass sei Fraale hot  
Uf sellem Baam'n Nescht.”

How well I love those poplar-trees,  
That stand like brothers there!  
And on the top, as sure's I live,  
A blackbird perches now.  
The top is bending, how it swings!  
But still the bird holds fast.

How plain I saw his scarlet wings  
 When he his feathers dressed !  
 I'll bet you on that very tree  
 His wife has a nest.

Miss Rachel Bahn, of York County, has written some verses in the dialect. She says :

“ Well, anyhow, wann's Frueyohr kummt,  
 Bin ich gepleased first-rate ;  
 Die luft's so fair un agenehm,  
 Die rose so lieblich weht.  
 Nau gehe mei gedanke nuf  
 Wu's immer Frueyohr is,  
 Wu's keh feren 'ring gewe duth,  
 Wu's herrlich is gewiss.”

Well, anyhow, when springtime comes,  
 Then am I pleased first-rate ;  
 So fair and soft the breezes blow,  
 So lovely is the rose.  
 'Tis then my thoughts are raised on high,  
 Where Spring forever blooms,  
 Where change can never more be felt,  
 But glory shines around.

Mr. E. H. Rauch, of Lancaster, has written some humorous letters under the title of Pit (Pete) Schwefleebrenner.

He accommodates himself to the great numbers of our “Dutch” people who do not read German, by writing the dialect phonetically. He says :

“ Der klea meant mer awer, sei net recht g'sund, for er kreisht ols so greisel-heftict orrick (arg) in der nacht. De olt Lawbucksy behawpt er is was mer aw gewocksa heast, un meant mer set braucha derfore. Se sawya es waer an olty fraw drivva im Lodwaerrickshreddle de kennt's aw wocksa ferdreiv mit warta, un aw so a g'schmeer . . . was se mocht mit gensfet. . . De fraw sawya se waer a sivvaty shweshter un a dochter fun eam daer sei dawdy nee

net g'sea hut . . . un sell gebt eara yetzt de gewalt so warta braucha fors aw woeksa tsu ferdrieva."

"The little one seems to me not to be quite well, for he cries so dreadfully in the night. Old Mrs. Lawbucks maintains that he is what we call grown (enlargement of the liver), and thinks that I should do something for it. She says that there was an old woman in Applebutter-town who knew how to drive away the growth with words, and who has, too, an ointment that she makes with goose-fat. . . . The woman says that she was a seventh sister, and the daughter of one who never saw his father . . . and that gives her now the power to use words to drive away the growth."

Professor Haldeman, of the University of Pennsylvania, says that Pennsylvania German is a fusion of the South German dialects, brought from the region of the upper Rhine, including Switzerland, with an infusion of English.

He adds that the perfect is used for the imperfect tense, as in Swiss; so that for "ich sagte" (I said) we have "ich hab ksaat," for "ich hatte" (I had) we have "ich hab kat."—*From the Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869-70.*

The remarks which immediately follow are extracts taken, with some small additions, from an article on Pennsylvania German, by Prof. Stahr, in the *Mercersburg Review*. The few changes that I have made are generally in parentheses.

"It is of course impossible in our present limits to specify all the peculiarities of Pennsylvania German, so as to give an adequate idea of its form to those who are not familiar with it. We may, however, state a few general principles, which will enable any one conversant with High German to read and understand the dialect without difficulty. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the letters have the *South German* sound: *a* has the broad sound like the English *aw*; *st* and *sp* whenever they occur sound broad, like *schit* and *schip*, etc. Secondly, letters are commuted or changed. Instead of the

proper sound of the modified vowel or *Umlaut* *ö*, we find the sound of the German *ē* or the English *ā*, and instead of *ü* we find *ie* or *i*, equivalent to the English *i* in *machine*, or the same shortened as in *pin*. Instead of the proper sound of *eu*, we have the German *ei* or the English *ī*. Instead of *au*, particularly when it undergoes modification in inflections, we have broad *a* or *aa* in the unmodified, and *ä* or *ää* in the modified, form. Thus we have *Baam* for *Baum*, and *Bääm'* for *Bäume*; *laafe'* for *laufen*, and *lauft* or *läuft* for *läuft*. The diphthong *ei* is often changed into long *e* or *ee*. Thus for *Stein* we have *Stee'* (pronounced *Shtay*), for *Bein*, *Bee'*, for *Eid* we have *Eed*, for *Leid*, *Leed*. *A* is often changed into *o*, as *Johr* for *Jahr*, *Hoor* for *Haar*; *i* is changed into *e*, as *werd* for *wird* (*Schvate schlimm* for *Es wird Schlimm*?), *IIert* for *Hirt*, etc. Consonants are also frequently changed; *b* into *w* (*Bievel* for *Bible* is used, *I believe*), *p* into *b*, *t* into *d*, etc. Thirdly, words are shortened by dropping the terminations, especially *n* of the infinitive or generally after *e*. Prefixes are frequently contracted, so also compound words. Thus instead of *werden*, *folgen*, *fangen*, we have *werre'*, *folge'*, *fange'*; *einmal* becomes *emöl*, *nicht mehr*, *nimme*, etc. Fourthly, the Pennsylvania dialect uses High German words in a different sense. Thus for *Pferd*, horse, we have *Gaul*, which in High German means a heavy farm-horse or an old horse; *gleiche*, from the High German *gleichen*, to resemble, means in the Pennsylvania dialect, to like; *gucke'*, from High German *gucken*, to peep, to pry, means to look. Finally, we find English words introduced in their full form, either with or without German prefixes and modifications; e.g., *Store* (*Schture*), *Rüles*, *Cäpers*, *Circumstünces*, *trävele*, *stärte*, *fixe*, *fighte*.

“Nouns have scarcely any changes of form, except to distinguish singular and plural. These, where they exist, are the same as in High German. One of the most striking peculiarities is this: the genitive case is never used to indicate possession, the dative is used in connection with a possessive pronoun. Thus instead of *Der Hut des Mannes* (the hat of

the man) we find *dem Mann sei' Hut* (to the man his hat). . . . The definite article is used for *dieser, diese, dieses* (this), and *seller, selle, sell*, for *jener, jene, jenes* (that). The adverb *wo* is used instead of the relatives *welcher, welche, welches*.

"In inflecting pronouns, *mir* is used instead of *wir* (us). The verb has no imperfect tense; the perfect is always used for it in Pennsylvania German. (And it will be observed, I think, that those accustomed to speaking the dialect will use the perfect thus in English.)

"From *wollen* we have: *Ich will, du wilt, er will, mir wolle', ihr wolle', sie wolle'*; and from *haben*: *Ich hab, du hoscht, er hot, mir hen* (from *han, haben*), *ihr hen, sie hen*." Prof. Stahr, whom I have just quoted, appears to spell Pennsylvania German with the German sounds, whereas I generally use the English sounds.

The advantages which some of our Pennsylvania Germans enjoy for preserving a knowledge of pure German have been told to me by a reverend gentleman of Allentown, who says that in Lehigh County the German newspapers have more readers than the English, and, as the people continue to read German, this tends to preserve their language more pure from the English admixture. He estimated that the *Republikaner* and the *Friedensbote* had been published for about sixty years.

In addition to reading German, many or most of the same people hear preaching in that language. Perhaps four times as many people in the county attend German preaching as hear English.

There are about thirty-four Lutheran and thirty-four Reformed congregations (mostly meeting in the same churches), and in twenty-five of these (twenty-five out of thirty-four) the preaching is entirely German; and all the people, young and old, understand German.

In the towns, he estimates that two-thirds of the people are Lutherans and Reformed, and in the country nine-tenths.

As regards the adjoining county of Northampton, he says

that outside of Easton and Bethlehem three-fourths of the people are certainly Reformed and Lutheran. The people of Northampton generally speak German, except along the New Jersey line.

My friend here doubtless means that they speak the dialect; for our Pennsylvania Germans, who can read German, generally speak the dialect.

I have also preserved some remarks of a professional gentleman living in Nazareth.

Dr. — is from Saxony, and has been in this country twenty-seven years, long enough, as he humorously says, to forget the English which he had practiced during a residence of several years in Ireland. He has never learned the Pennsylvania dialect. He says that the Bethlehem and Nazareth dialect, though not German (pure German is much spoken), is a better language than the "*Busch-Deutsch*," Bush German, or common Northampton County dialect, which is a mixture of English, Würtemberg, Baden, and Swabian; and the Swabian dialect, as spoken by the rural population, is one that Dr. — would not have understood in Saxony. In towns and cities they speak more of what we call *Buch-Deutsch*, or book-German.

Dr. — speaks German always in his family, and the services in the Moravian Church are alternately English and German.

The language on the street in Nazareth—it is an inland town, without a railroad—is almost entirely the German dialect. In the country round, little or no English is spoken, except, says Dr. —, in a small district near the mountains. The children indeed learn to read English in the public schools; but if you ask them what it means, they frequently cannot tell you.

The teachers in the public schools in the county (distinguished from the towns) must necessarily speak German for the children to obtain ideas, or must interpret English to them.



A gentleman of Bethlehem says that he thinks the language of Northampton and Lehigh Counties is very much like that now spoken in Baden, with many English words added.

A public school teacher in Nazareth translated for me these two phrases :

Does nobody want breakfast but us?

*Will nimmert breakfast hawe es (als?) wie mir?*

It is strange that these people have no appetite.

*'S is awdlich das die Lite kay appetit hawe.*

Prof. Stahr, in speaking of the Pennsylvania Germans, says that if you enter the house at meal-time they say, "*Kumm sitz' dich bei, un nemm's mit uns so gut as mer's hen;*" or, Come, sit down, and eat with us, as good as we have.

In Allentown I hear that tomatoes are called *Gummeranze*. This word is not used in Lancaster County.

Dr. Kellner, of Philadelphia, suggests that it is *Pommeranze*, a corruption of *Pomerance*,—i.e. orange.

*Alleweil* in our dialect means just now : thus, *Alleweil g'sattemers*, Now we see it.

I may be allowed to introduce here an anecdote given to me by a Lancaster gentleman :

Old Mrs. H., anxious to see a baptism by immersion, proposed to her hired girl, Susan, to go across the fields to the place where there was to be baptism in the creek. Way-making they were to cross the same creek by a log, but Mrs. H. fell in to her waist. Wading back to the bank, Susan standing alarmed, Mrs. H. said, quietly and quickly, "*Suss, mer hens yetst g'say; yetst weller mer hame gay;*" or, "Susy, we've seen it now; now let's go home."

We have in Pennsylvania many peculiar expressions in English, as, "I'm perfectly used to travel every *wich* way."

"A body gits *dired* if they *dravel*."

"Mind Ressler? he was in Sprecher's still;" or, Do you remember Ressler? he used to be in Sprecher's store.

"It's raining a'ready, mother;" or, "Where's Mrs. M.?"  
 "She went to bed a'ready."

"I guess that Mrs. B. does not spend all her income?"  
 "She didn't still."

"She'd rather be married to him as to keep house for him."  
 (Than to keep house.)

This seems to be the German *als*.

"My daddy won't sit in no rocking-chair; he has a crutch again' a rocking-chair,"—*i.e.* a grudge or objection.

We think those very "Dutch" who say "Sess" for Seth, "Bass-house," "Norsampton County."

By the same rule it would be "Beslem (Bethlehem) is in Norsampton County."

"I'm fetching a pig. I had it bestowed."

"We're getting strangers" (guests).

"Mrs. M., how does your garden grow?"

"Just so middlin'."

"Your head is strubly," means "your hair is tumbled."

A scientific friend, who wishes to examine a specimen, says,

"Let me see it once."

Of the same kind are these:

"When we ~~get~~ moved once."

"You'll know what it is when you've got no father no more once."

(This use of once has been alluded to in the text.)

"Mother, don't be so cross!"

"I ought to be cross" (angry).

I do not know that it is "Dutch" to say, "Did you kiss your *poppy*?" (father,) or, "Barbara, where's your *pap*?"

Nor can I tell the derivation of our interjection of pain, "*Owtch!*" "*Ok!*" is doubtless the German *Acht* or is it Irish?

And what is the derivation of "*Sahdie*"—a popular childish expression for "Thank you"?

I will conclude this note with one or two anecdotes, which were considered worth telling to me:

A Yankee went into a store in Allentown and asked for the proprietor.

"We don't keep any."

"Who is the owner of the store?"

"I am."

A tavern-keeper removed from Kutztown, in Berks, to Allentown. Some one called at his tavern and inquired whether the landlord was in.

"I don't know; I'll go and see."

He went to the ostler, who told him that he was himself the landlord.

The common expression would be tavern-keeper, *vayrt* (*wirth*) in "Pennsylvania Dutch."

## NOTE II.

THIS may be called a general receptacle for notes and items not introduced into the text.

A Lancaster paper of January, 1873, stated that smallpox had broken out in a colony of religious people in Indiana, called "Omish," who did not believe in vaccination. The ravages of the disease were said to be fearful. I have heard, however, of no objection to vaccination among the Amish here.

"Does Mr. Kennel live here?" inquired a stranger of an Amish farmer.

"Joe Kennel lives here. I'm the man."

I said to an aged Amish man, "Would you rather have your sons farmers?"

"Be sure," he replied.

"Of course," said his daughter.

Said I, "Why do you like that best?"

"I think if a man is a Christian, that is the best thing he can undertake," said the old man.

---

Riding one evening, we met an Amish farmer on horseback, driving a very clean sow.

We stopped to make an inquiry, and then asked whether he had a certain book, which contained a notice of the Amish.

He answered that he did not have many books.

"My Bible and Testament's enough for me to read;" then, recollecting himself, "and the Martyr-book, I have that."

---

Mr. R. has told me that in 1853, at the age of six, he went to public school in this county. He had just learned to read, and was put into a class in "the Testament." They read four to six times a day. It took them about three months to accomplish the Testament, and then the teacher put them into the Bible, which they completed, Mr. R. says, before he was eight years old, but under a succeeding teacher, who seems to have approved the same course.

"We hadn't many books in those days," says Mr. R. "I used to read the *Weekly Tribune*, down to the names of the Kansas settlers."

---

A lesson is embodied in this anecdote. A neighboring farmer came to the house with his little boy, about five years old. I handed the little fellow a penny, and he began to pull at his father, who was talking.

"What is it?" said he, a little impatiently.

"He gives it to you, does he?" said I.

"Yes, to put into his box. He's got two full. I'll have to steal them some day, I guess," winking at me.

"That's the way you teach them to save?" said I.

"Yes, keep them till he gets big. 'Buy a horse and buggy with them,' *he* says."

---

And here is another branch of instruction. Little Barbara M. is five years old. She seldom, if ever, speaks to me unless I first address her; then she answers with confidence.

A hen was set on twelve duck-eggs, and hatched one duck, which Mrs. M. brought to the house,—too small a *brood* to leave with the hen?

Barbara and her little cousin petted the orphan too much, as I feared, and in two or three days it was very tame, and was troublesome, by getting underfoot.

"Barbara trod on the duck," said Daniel; and when I went over, there it lay motionless on the porch, while Barbara stood dejected at one of the posts.

"Who killed the duck?" said I.

"That good-for-nothing thing," said Mrs. M. "I smacked her for it."

It was a very little thing, only a few days old, hardly worth smacking for, I thought. I put in a plea for Barbara, that it got under her feet, and she did not see it when she stepped out.

"She might have looked, as I do," said her mother, still with asperity.

Before a long time little Bevv's grief was soothed, and she was busily and quietly occupied with water, cloth, and soap in washing her little wheelbarrow.

"She's the dreadfulest girl to wash things," said her mother. "Don't waste that soap, Barby."

---

And here is another lesson.

Many years ago, at one of our country stores, I saw a copy-

book, which had upon the cover a familiar bird, and these verses (from memory):

Der Hahn schriet laut, sein Kuckeriku,  
Die Kinder aufzuwecken früh,  
Zu lernen in den Morgenstund,  
Denn Morgenstund hat Gold im Mund.

Or, as we say in English:

The cock cries cockadoodledoo,  
The children wake up early too,  
To study in the morning hour,  
For morning hour has golden power.

---

Our county of Lancaster is the only one, I believe, in which the Mennonites are predominant. In most of the German counties the Lutherans and Reformed are very numerous.

A lawyer, Mr. W., who taught in Schuylkill County about fifteen or twenty years ago, has given me some of his recollections.

He said that among the mines in Schuylkill the population is English, that is, American, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish, but in the valleys there are "Dutch" farmers, mostly Lutherans, he thinks.

"The farmers lived well in the valleys of Schuylkill County; no danger of freezing in winter between two feather-beds;" and Mr. W. liked the fried *pawn-haus*, although he found it rather rich.

"In that county I had some of the pleasantest times. I was there as a teacher, and they immediately appropriated me; I was not obliged to wait for the formality of an introduction in the German community. I could see, however, a tendency to mistrust the man of Yankee origin, and to combine against him; the young men fearing lest the teacher should cut them out with the girls. I was invited to go one evening on a sleighing-party. There were an equal number of young men and girls, and at a village we took in two fiddlers. We

drove several miles to a stone tavern or farm-house (for the tavern-keeper is generally a farmer). The fiddlers sat in the window-seats, formed by the thick stone walls; and the dance was lively until the small hours. The dancers made a business of it, and went to work with a will. The dances were called 'straight eights,' forward and back, and mostly shuffles. Although at a tavern, none got drunk. Coming home, the driver increased the fun by upsetting the party in the snow.

"I taught public school, and on account of not speaking German I had much difficulty with the younger scholars, who, being under the care of their mothers, seldom heard the English language. The home talk was always in "Dutch," as they called it, though the fathers, when transacting business, were able to speak English.

"Even the larger pupils were not able to understand all of their lessons in English. Some of the farmers were rich. The 'Dutch' farmers were universally Democrats." So says Mr. W.

Another lawyer, named H. (of Pennsylvania German origin), has given me some of his recollections of Berks County. Berks is that county concerning which it has been a standing joke that some of its people still voted for Andrew Jackson,—a well-worn joke.

"It must have been a select party," says Mr. H., "that W. was at, if none of them got drunk."

"The great dancing tunes in Berks are Fisher's Hornpipe, Washington's Grand March, Charlie over the Water, Yankee Doodle, Hail Columbia, and We won't go Home till Morning."

"The walls in the stone houses in Berks are generally two feet thick, built like forts, with plenty of room to sit in the window-seats, but usually the landlord had a long bar-room table, on which he put chairs for the fiddlers. About every third dance they must have a drink, which frequent potations sometimes brought them to the floor, unable to distinguish sounds." "The dancing they indulge in in Berks," says Mr.

H., "is not the fashionable kind, but is more exhausting than mauling rails in August, or thrashing rye with a flail. The figures are called out by some skillful person; the dances are called straight fours or hoe-downs, the dancers being arranged in four rows, in a sort of double column on each side. After the inside couples have danced and all have changed places, the former are allowed to rest while the outside couples dance."

"The battalion (Pennsylvania Dutch, Badolya?) is an annual day of joy and festivity in Berks County. The annual training, which gave name to the day, has long been given up, but still just before hay-making the landlords of the country towns, such as Kutztown or Hamburg, will advertise that they will hold the annual battalion (without any soldiers). The peanut-venders, the men with flying-horses, and the others who expect to reap the harvest, come during the night before, and by six in the morning everything is ready, and about that hour the farmers begin to come in, wives, sons, daughters, hired men, and maids, even little children and quite small babies.

"The farmers patronize the landlords by dining and drinking. You can get a good dinner at Kutztown for less money than in any other town I know. As for drinking, bars have even been set up upon the second floor where the dancing took place.

"The old folks amuse themselves by talking together, looking on and seeing how well their sons and daughters can dance, the old men drinking a little whisky, several times repeated, and perhaps treating their wives to some sarsaparilla. By evening the old folks will be at home; but the daughters, who could hardly expect the young men to walk home with them as long as the sun was shining, stay later, carrying gingerbread and peanuts home in their handkerchiefs.

"Roving gamblers also visit the battalion; and many an unwary youth has lost all his money, earned by hard work, and, after that was gone, has striven to better his fortune, but unsuccessfully, by giving up his watch.



"I think that nearly all the people of Berks can speak English now. The farmers, Lutheran and Reformed, or members of no church, are many of them opposed to education, from an idea that it would make bad people of their sons and daughters,—unwilling to work."

"I know farmers in Berks worth from thirty to eighty thousand dollars who never bring wheat bread to the table except at Christmas and New Year's. This is from their great economy and desire to sell the wheat."

Mrs. R., of Lehigh County, tells me that at her father's they baked wheat bread on Saturday, for Sunday, but during the week they ate rye.

When her brother-in-law returned from a visit to Ohio, he said, "Daraus in Ohio, 's is so schane. Sie essen laute waytz-brod;" or, Out in Ohio it is so fine. They eat altogether wheat bread.

An expression that is very offensive to our Pennsylvania Germans, when applied to them by "English" folks, is "dumb Dutch." Dumb is of course the German *dumm*, stupid, and it is familiarly used by our Pennsylvania Germans themselves. One of my friends said that she thought she could learn to use a sewing-machine,—“People as dumb as me has learned to use them.” And an Amish man said, “S. Z. is a well-learned man; I’m dumb, I don’t know much.”

In 1869, the Ephrata Literary Society discussed this question:

*Resolved*, That wealth exerts a greater influence than knowledge.

Several persons joined in the debate. *The decision was given in favor of the affirmative.*

About two years after, in a village near the one just mentioned, the Lincoln Lyceum held a meeting. “The question for debate was, that wealth has a greater influence on the people in general than education. The decision was in favor of

education, *contrary to expectation*." (The italics in both cases are my own.)

In one of our county papers I met with the following : "Sitting for a few minutes in the *Examiner* office last week, we were amused by one bright case, who came to 'pay his paper,' but, in the first place, did not know whether he received the Saturday or Wednesday edition, and secondly, could not tell whether it was the *Examiner*, *Express*, or *Inquirer* that he was taking."

In the adjoining county of Berks, a young publisher told me that when visiting the country and asking his subscribers how they liked his paper, which was a large-sized one, he received a reply that it was "*a very nice paper for the cupboard*." The meaning of which seems to be, good to spread upon cupboard shelves, to keep them clean.

I heard that one of my neighbors "hung his warts upon the horns of the new moon;" he looked at the moon, and rubbed his warts, and they went away! (The idea, however, was obtained from an *English* acquaintance.)

I have been told that if you *tramp* on a nail you must put it *in the dry*: in the chimney, for instance; "it won't get so sore, it won't."

One of my acquaintances said, "There's a yellow woman; she says some words. I tried her with my eyes, but she could not do anything."

I also saw a dear little maid, whose father was taking her in to Lancaster, apparently to see the same yellow pow-wow woman. The little maid was said to have "wild-fire, what you call erysipelas." She did not seem to be much affected, and perhaps the wordy woman could get along better.

The woman alluded to once lived in the southern part of the county, and came into town to see patients. Her having mother-wit is indicated by her telling a sick man, much addicted to tobacco, that she would give him a pound, and when that was gone he would die.

## NOTE III.

VERY exaggerated stories have been told concerning the Russian emigrants here,—and the text of this volume is not clear of them. The *Herald of Truth*, a Mennonite paper, in its issue of October, 1873, says that there are about thirty-six families in this country, of which the largest number were still in Elkhart, Indiana, on September 26th. Peter Isaac, who was said to have brought \$140,000 in gold, is not worth more than \$3000.

The November number of the same paper says that some have gone to Yankton, Dakota, to winter, and that three or four families had gone to Minnesota and bought a farm of one hundred and sixty acres, a good house, with sixty-five acres of the prairie broken, cattle, etc., all ready to begin work, for \$1400. It is added that their brethren in Russia are making active preparations for coming over in the spring.

There are numerous articles upon the subject of raising funds for the aid of their brethren. Some, it seems, prefer to give rather than to lend money. The editor says that this is a matter in which all non-resistant Christians may very appropriately take a part, “and hence we especially appeal to all branches of the Mennonite Church, whether Old or New Mennonites, Reformed Mennonites, Evangelical Mennonites, Swiss Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, or under whatsoever other peculiar name they may be known.”

While the editor was traveling this summer upon a tour of observation with some of the Russian brethren, the following incident occurred :

They stayed one night in the valley of the Pembina, at the house of a German friend named Emmerling, and “Brother Evert” found he had left his traveling blanket there. While trying to find a way to recover it, they were surprised to see “friend Emmerling” drive up, who immediately asked whether any of the party had missed anything; and it was discovered

that the owner of the blanket had also left, under his pillow, a pocket-book with a considerable amount of money. The friend had followed twelve miles to restore the forgotten articles. Brother Evert was quite overcome, and could only say, "This is a specimen of the American dishonesty of which we have heard so much."

Friend Emmerling, it will be remembered, was a German ; but the Yankee nation is doubtless not so bad as it is sometimes painted.

THE END.

















